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NEW RESEARCHES ON ANCIENT HISTORY.

BY C. F. VOLNEY,

COUNT AND PEER OF FRANCE, MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, HONORARY MEMBER OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF CALCUTTA, &c.

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"Le merite d'une traduction est surtout d'être le miroir fidèle de l'original."

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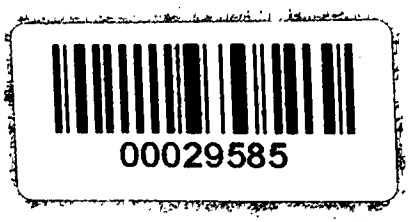

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NEW

Researches

ON

ANCIENT HISTORY.

CHRONOLOGY OF HERODOTUS (CONTINUED).

§ IX. *Epoch of the war of Troy, according to the Assyrians and Phœnicians.*

KTESIAS having in his possession the books of the Assyrians, or extracts from them, assures us that, according to their calculations, the war of Troy happened under one of the Ninevite kings, called Teutam, 306 years before the death of Sardanapal. This author, as being a Greek, must have had a curiosity to know that epoch, and the Assyrians had reasons of state for noting it in their archives, since the king of Troy demanded succours as *vassal*, and since the descendant of Ninus sent the satrap of Susa, *Memno*, whom Homer expressly mentions. The date furnished us by the Assyrians, has, therefore, an authority equal and even superior to that furnished by the *Greeks*, since

no chronology of the latter ascends in an uninterrupted and certain chain, even to the time of Homer; and all their chronologists display in their estimates a discordance which, as we shall presently see, demonstrates the uncertainty and even the falsehood of their foundations.

According to Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Halicarnassensis, Troy was taken 407 or 408 years before the first olympiad, which dates from 776, (consequently in the year 1183 or 1184).—According to the chronologist Eusebius, contemporary with Ptolomy-Philadelphus, this event happened 395 years before the first olympiad; therefore in the year 1171.—According to Arètes, in the year 1190.—According to Velleius Paterculus, in the year 1191.—According to Timeus, in 1193.—According to the Chronicle of Paros, in 1208; according to Dikearches, in 1212; in fine, according to Herodotus, in 1270, &c.

The point of departure of all these calculations was the opening of the olympiads, in the year 776 before our era: this point is ascertained; to go beyond it, all these authors endeavoured to measure time until the great events known, such as the invasion of the Heraclidæ, the foundation of the Ionian colony, a war carried on by some king of Sparta, &c. And it is because the dates of these events were not certain, that they obtained such different results; Herodotus alone employed another means which we shall examine separately: if his

translator is to be believed,* all the old Grecian nations possessed archives and genealogies furnishing sure foundation to authors; but if such monuments existed in certain times and places, the the perpetual wars with which that country was tormented, must have destroyed or mutilated them at an early period; since reckoning from only the seventh century before our era, all is discordant and confused in the Greek chronologies; so that at Sparta, for instance, one of the most permanent states, the order and series of the kings, are uncertain; their reigns omitted also after the olympiads, offer shocking improbabilities in preceding times,† and even the epoch of the celebrated legislator Lycurgus is liable to a contestation of 108 years which, as we shall see, is far from being decided, in the sense that has been supposed. The epoch of Homer, a poet so remarkable, whose country, age and life so many authors have endeavoured to discover; this epoch is as obscure as that of Lycurgus and Troy, as is proved by two curious passages of Tatian and Clement of Alexandria, which deserve to be quoted.

" According to Cratès (or Cratètes), Homer came only eighty years after the taking of Troy, and

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* See Larcher's Chronology, article *taking of Troy* and *kings of Lacedæmon.*

† The reign of Agis is reduced to *one year*, though it was, as we are assured, the richest in great events.

(lived) about the time of the invasion of the Heraclidæ; according to Eratosthenes, he was 100 years later; 140 according to Aristarchus, who in his commentaries on Archilochus, says, that Homer was contemporary with the Ionian colony founded at that period.

" Philochorus places him forty years later (180 years after Troy).

" Apollodorus pretends it was 100 years (that is to say 940 after Troy), under the reign of Agesilaus, son of *Doriseus*, king of Sparta, which makes Homer nearly contemporary with Lycurgus, still very young.

" Enthymenus, in his annals, says he was born in the isle of Chios, 200 years after the taking of Troy; Archemacus, in his third book of the Euboics, is of the same opinion.

" Euphorion, in his work of the Aliadæ, says he lived in the time of Gygès, who began to reign in the eighteenth olympiad (the year 708).

" Sosibius of Lacedæmon, *in his Description of the Times*, places Homer in the eighth year of king *Charilas*, son of Polydectes. Charilas reigned sixty-four years; his son, Nicander, reigned thirty-nine: in the thirty-fourth year of that prince, says he, *the first olympiad was established*; so that Homer is placed ninety years before this first olympiad.

" Dieuchidas, in his fourth book of the Megarics, says that Lycurgus flourished nearly 290 years after the taking of Troy.

Eratosthenès thus divides the time,* "from the taking of Troy until the invasion of the Heraclidæ - - - - - - - 80 years.
From thence to the Ionian colony - 60
From thence to the guardianship of Lycurgus - - - - - - 159
From thence to the first olympiad - 108

Total - - 407
Plus - - 776

1183 years.

"In fine, Herodotus *estimates* (says Tatian), that Homer lived 400 years before him, and joins Hesiod with him."

All these variations bring us back to our first conclusions; to wit:

First, That the Grecian chronologists had not in their possession regular uninterrupted chronicles on which to found their calculations.

Secondly, That the Assyrians having had that advantage, may very possibly, in the passage handed down to us by Ktesias, have revealed to us the real epoch of the taking of Troy.

But, on comparing the extreme difference of the epoch given by them, and the nearest of all those assigned by the Greeks, how, in such a question, can we grant a decided preference to an only and

* Clement Alex. Strom., Lib. I^v. page 402.

single testimony, especially when this testimony is transmitted to us through *a Ktesias?*

Such were our scruples, when, perusing the same pages of Clement of Alexandria and Tatian, two other citations fixed our attention.

" Eiram, king of Tyre," says Clement, " gives his daughter in marriage to Solomon, at the time when Menelaus arrives in Phenicia, after the war of Troy, as we are told by *Menander* of Pergamus, and *Lætus*, in their Phenician annals."

" Among the Phenicians," says Titian, " we know of three historians; to wit: *Theodotus*,* Hypsicrates and *Mochus*, whose works were translated into Greek by *Lætus*, who carefully collected the lives of a great number of philosophers: now, in the histories we speak of, it is said that, under the same king (of Tyre), happened the rape of Europa, the arrival of Menelaus in Egypt, and the actions of *Cheiram*, who gave his daughter in marriage to the king of the Jews, *Solomon*." Menander of Pergamus relates the same facts; and the time of *Cheiram* is nearly that of Troy.†

Here the testimony of *Menander* merits the more attention, as Flavius Josephus tells us that this writer had in fact translated the Phenician annals, which he admits to be exact and conformable to

* These Greek names are evidently translations of the Tyrian names, having the same signification.

† *Tatian, Orat. and Græcos*, page 273, N°. 37.

those of the Jews. According to the latter, Solomon's reign began in the year 1018 before Jesus Christ; according to the Assyrians, Teutam sent succours to Troy, about the year 1023. Suppose it taken in 1022. According to the Phenicians, Menelaus must have come one or two years after, towards 1021 or 1020: Hiram, therefore, must have given his daughter about the year 1018 or 1017; is it not very extraordinary that three different witnesses should thus agree? Let us rather say, that it is demonstrative and convincing. Taking this date for the true one, and supposing the war of Troy to have ended in the year 1022, we have for an ascertained epoch the first olympiad in 776, difference 246. Now, let us see how all the above citations agree, when compared with these two terms: first, let us examine Herodotus. The very words of that writer, prior to the sixteen others mentioned by Clement and Tatian, are as follow:

"*According to my estimation* the poets Homer and Hesiod lived no more than* 400 *years before me.*"

Some critics have already observed that these expressions are very vague. *Estimation* signifies calculations by approximation, by supposition: *lived* indicates no precise year, and may be taken for the birth, the death, the epoch of celebrity; and this round number of *four hundred years* without

* Lib. II. § LIII.

a fraction! is it not clear that Herodotus did not give here a precise and methodical calculation, but that he made simply an approximative *valuation?* When we know his method, we guess at his operation. Having read several historians, among others Xanthus of Lydia, Cadmus of Miletus, Hellanicus, &c., he remarked some anecdote which established a connection between Homer and some known prince, as he mentions himself a connection between Archilochus and Gygès, between Thalès, Solon and Kræsus; from this known connection, he must have derived a number of generations which, *valued, estimated,* according to his system, at three generations to a century, gave him the round number of 400 years; that is to say, that from himself to Homer, he reckoned twelve generations. This valuation of thirty-three years being much too great, let us substitute twenty-five years, such as are obtained by the generations of the kings of Lydia, the Hebrew kings and the Jewish high-priests; we shall have four generations to a century; consequently 300 years for the twelve generations between Herodotus and Homer. Herodotus was born in the year 484 before our era; therefore the 300 years carry us up to the year 784. Now, as the word *lived* is generally taken for *ceasing to live,* we conclude that this must be the year of Homer's death, according to Herodotus. The poet died at an advanced age: suppose at seventy or eighty: he must have been born between the years

854 and 864; at present, let us compare with these years the calculations of authors.

According to Apollodorus, Homer lived 240 years after Troy, or 100 years after the Ionian colony: from 1022 deduct 240, remains 782; therefore Apollodorus gives exactly our calculation with a difference of only two years.

According to Euthymenes, he was born at Chios, 200 years after Troy; therefore in 822. This is too late; he must have already flourished.

According to Sosibius, Homer came ninety years before the first olympiad; its date is 776, plus ninety: making 866. And on that account his birth was put down exactly in the eighth year of Charilas.

According to Apollodorus, Homer (who died in 784) *was nearly contemporary* with Lycurgus, still young: but, according to Strabo, several authors were of opinion that Lycurgus had received from Homer's own hands in his old age, his poems which he brought to Lacedæmon. Plutarch, without coming to any decision, thinks that Lycurgus, travelling in Asia Minor, received them only from the children of Cleophilus, their depository. But he candidly confesses,

"That the origin, the travels, the death, the epoch even of Lycurgus's laws were an inexhaustible subject of controversy among writers; he declares that, according to many, he had concurred with Iphitus in instituting the olympic games: it

is, says he, the opinion of Aristotle, who gives as a proof of the fact the *inscription of the olympic pallet*, where the name of Lycurgus is engraved."*

Such a monument, cited by a man of the authority and instruction of Aristotle, is already a positive proof; but Cicero's opinion is also in its favour, when in his speech for *Flaccus*, that learned Roman says:

"*The Lacedæmonians have lived under the same laws for more than* 700 *years.*"

This speech was pronounced in the *second* year of the 180th olympiad, that is the year fifty-nine before our era; consequently Cicero indicates a date somewhat earlier than the year 759, which answers the better to the above dates, as Lycurgus did not give his laws until after the institution of the olympic games by Iphitus. Thus, it was not a vague report, a popular opinion, which placed Lycurgus at this period of the eighth century, and made him live in Homer's old age; it was the testimony of the public monuments of those times, and the assent of the most ancient and learned writers. But, it will be objected; how, less than a hundred years after Aristotle, could Eratosthenes calculate that Lycurgus preceded the foundation of the olympic games by 108 years? We can say nothing on this subject, because the work of that astronomer is lost. But if we are to judge of him

* Plutarch, Life of Lycurgus.

by his copiers, *Tralian*, *Eusebius*, *Syncellus* and even Tatian, we can have no high idea of his criticism: for instance, how could Eratosthenes assert that Homer lived only 100 years after the war of Troy? This must be an error of Tatian, or of his copiers. Eratosthenes, who agrees in opinion with Apollodorus concerning the war of Troy, must have also agreed with him about the epoch of Homer; and placed it 100 years *after the Ionian colony*, and not after the *taking of Troy:* it is a manifest error. These two writers were certainly acquainted with the relations proved by monuments and historians, to have existed between Homer and Lycurgus; they must have reasoned thus:

" Herodotus, born in such a year (484 before Jesus Christ), says that Homer lived, or ceased to live, 400 years before him; therefore in 884. But it is certain that Lycurgus saw Homer: therefore Lycurgus could not be very young in 884."

In our turn, we say: from 884, deducting 108 years, there remain 776, the precise epoch of the first olympiad; therefore Eratosthenes operated as we have said; therefore he was led into error by the 400 years of Herodotus, which he took in their material sense; therefore our interpretation of the 400 years of Herodotus in twelve generations, is the true meaning of the passage; therefore the duration of twenty-five years, we allow for each generation, is the most reasonable, the most conformable to the facts; therefore the perfect coincidence

of our combinations with the calculations of the Assyrians and Phenicians, gives the epoch of the war of Troy and of Homer's age, more exactly, more truely than any Greek calculation; therefore, in fine, all that has been heretofore said on this double question, must be done over again, beginning with the two chapters of Larcher's chronology, *on the Capture of Troy and on the Kings of Lacedæmon*, where from supposition to supposition, going from *the probable to the certain* and *incontestible*, belying all the ancients upon whose aid he reckons for support, this *corrector* has thrown the war of Troy farther back than Herodotus himself, that is to say beyond 1270; and yet it is evident that it was because they perceived the exaggeration of this hypothesis, that the Greeks, in Ktesias's time, began to abandon it. The error of Herodotus is striking in this respect, if all his calculation is taken in the literal sense; but when interpreted as we have done, and if the 800 years, in round numbers, which by *his estimation had elapsed between the taking of Troy and his own times*, are only a calculation of generations converted into years, the result will be the year 1084 before Jesus Christ, that is about sixty-two years more than the Assyrian and Phenician calculations; and then it is of all those of the Greeks that which comes nearest the truth. We have this remark to make concerning this historian, that when he follows the Asiatics, he gives precise results, because he has sure

foundations; but when he operates with the Greeks, having no exact dates, he is forced to have recourse to general methods, which make him contradict himself, as in the present instance, where we can judge him.

We have just seen that the system of generations, employed according to our method, has afforded the most satisfactory coincidences: the subject we are treating furnishes other examples no less favourable. Herodotus informs us, that in his time the kings of Macedon having presented themselves at the olympic games, were at first refused as not being of true Grecian origin, but were afterwards admitted, after having judicially proved themselves of the same Heraclid-blood as the kings of Sparta themselves: in the genealogy of these kings, Alexander the First, son of Amyntas, who reigned in the time of Xerxes, had for his ninth grandfather *Karanus*, whose brother *Phido*, tyrant of Argos, disturbed the games in the eighth olympiad, that is in the year 748 before Jesus Christ.

If we compare with the Macedonian list that of the kings of Sparta, Karanus is found to be parallel with Lycurgus who, twenty-nine years before, appeared at these games; and from Karanus to Hercules, there are precisely eleven generations, as well as from Hercules to Lycurgus.*

* Theopompus and *Satyrus*, the especial historians of the Macedonian kings, reckon *eleven* generations, as well as Strabo. Velleius

On the other hand, we have from Karanus to Alexander the Great, seventeen generations which, at the rate of twenty-five years, make 425. These 425 years added to 330, the epoch of Alexander, make 755, plus the twenty-nine of Lycurgus; total 784. Here again our same numbers occur.

If we ascend from Lycurgus to the Heraclid king Aristodemus, we have seven generations, or 175 years: setting out from the first olympiad 776, plus 175; we find 951: that is the settlement of the Heraclidæ would have fallen seventy-one years after the taking of Troy, according to the orientals; and all the Greeks place the invasion of these Heraclidæ eighty years after Troy. If we are in an erroneous path, how can it lead us to such successful results? will it be said that they are contradicted by the reigns of the kings of Sparta? But Larcher* himself allows that there is no relying on the lists of Eusebius and Syncellus, that they are arbitrary according to the custom of these mutilators; that the reign of Agis is inadmissible with one year's duration, as they have set it down; that the other reigns, when compared in the two branches, are full of contradictions, &c. &c. We shall not attempt to account for all these discordances, which would carry us too far from our subject. We have done

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counts sixteen; but Velleius is a late compiler, not to be depended on in chronology.

* Chronology, art. of the kings of Sparta.

List of the Assyrian Kings, according to different Authors.

According to the Moses of Chorene. Armenia.	Eusebius* of History of	According to the vulgar Eusebius.		According to Syncellus.	
1 Ninus		1 Ninus - -	52	1 Belus - -	55
2 Ninyas		2 Semiramis - -	42	2 Ninus - -	52
3 Arius		3 Ninyas - -	38	3 Semiramis - -	42
4 Aralius		4 Arius - -	30	4 Ninyas, or Zamès -	38
5 Baleus Cheoxarus		5 Aralius - -	40	5 Arius - -	30
6 Amathrites		6 Baleus Xercés - -	30	6 Aralius - -	40
7 Belochus		7 Armatrites - -	38	7 Xercès - -	30
8 Baleus		8 Belochus - -	35	8 Arma Mithrès -	38
9 Azatagus		9 Baleus - -	52	9 Belochus I. - -	35
10 Mamidus		10 Altadas - -	32	10 Baleus - -	52
11 Masehaleus		11 Mamitus - -	30	11 Sethos - -	32
12 Spharus		12 Manchaleus - -	30	12 Mamithus - -	30
13 Samilus		13 Spharus - -	20	13 Aschalius - -	22
14 Spharetus		14 Mamitus - -	30	14 Sphærus - -	28
15 Ascatades		15 Sparetus - -	40	15 Mamylus - -	30
		16 Ascatades - -	40	16 Sparthæus - -	42
	537		579	17 Ascatades - -	38
16 Amindès - -	45	17 Amyntas - -	45	18 Amyntes - -	45
"	25	18 Belochus - -	25	19 Belotus - -	26
	607		649		
17 Vestascarus		19 Beloparès - -	30	20 Baletores - -	30
18 Susarès		20 Lampridès - -	32	21 Lamprides - -	30
19 Lamparès		21 Sosarès - -	20	22 Sosarès - -	20
20 Paneas		22 Lamparès - -	30	23 Lampraes - -	30
21 Sosarmus		23 Pannyas - -	45	24 Panyas - -	45
22 Mithreus		24 Sosarmus - -	19	25 Sosarmus - -	22
23 Teutamus		25 Mitræus - -	29	26 Mithæus - -	2
		26 Tautanès - -	32	27 Teutamus - -	32
	785		884		
		27 Teuteus - -	40	28 Teutæus - -	44
				29 Arabelus - -	42
				30 Chalaus - -	45
				31 Ambus - -	38
				32 Babius - -	37
24 Thinæus		28 Tinæus - -	30	33 Tinæus - -	30
25 Dercullus		29 Dercylus - -	40	34 Dercylus - -	40
26 Eupalmus		30 Eu-pal-ès - -	38	35 Eupakmès - -	38
27 Pridcazes		31 Laosthenès - -	45	36 Laosthenes - -	45
28 Pharates		32 Piriatides - -	30	37 Pertiadès - -	30
29 Acrazanes		33 Ophrateus - -	20	38 Ophratæus - -	21
30 Sardanapal		34 Ophratenès - -	50	39 Epecherès - -	52
		35 Ocrapazès - -	42	40 Acraganès - -	42
		36 Thonos concoleros, or Sardanapal - -	20	41 Thonos concoleros, or Macos concoleros, called Sardanapal -	15
	1005		1239	Total	1460
Velleius reckons	1070				

* The list of Moses of Chorene gives no numbers; but we have added to it those of the vulgar Eusebius.

enough, if we have ascertained the principal directing points of the ancient Greek chronology: some intelligent person will know how to make use of them to re-edify the building, as well as can be done, with the few data that remain. Let us return to Ktesias, and his fictitious calculations, in which truth and falsehood are jumbled together.*

§ X. *Examination of the Assyrian List of Ktesias.*

From all that has been said, the Median list of this writer being proved to be false, his preceding chronology can have no weight; but not to condemn him without being heard, let us examine his Assyrian list, and see if it also does not offer some proofs of falsification. To reason with equity concerning it, we must first ascertain its true condition; and this is a first difficulty to be surmounted; for the writers who pretend they copied this list, differ as to the names of the kings and the duration of their reigns; and, nevertheless, the manuscript of Ktesias must have been unequivocal: according to

* The taking of Troy being put down in the year 1022, it follows that the anachronism of Virgil is not of 400 years, as the translator of Herodotus asserts, nor of 300 and upwards, as may be inferred from other opinions. It is reduced to 151 years: for the flight of Dido into Africa having happened 143 years and eight months after the *foundation* of the temple of Solomon, according to Josephus, whose authorities are the Annals of Tyre (against Appion, Lib. I. N°s 17 and 18); and this foundation answering to the year 1015 before our era, it follows that Dido's arrival in Africa falls in the year 871, whilst the taking of Troy answers to the year 1022; difference 151.

Diodorus, the number of the kings *from father to son, was thirty;* according to Velleius-Paterculus,* the last king, *Sardanapal,* was *the thirty-third from Ninus and Semiramis.* But Velleius, a later writer, who mentions this circumstance only cursorily, seems to have been here led into error by an equivocal phrase of Diodorus, stating:

"Thus reigned Ninyas, son of Ninus, and most of the other kings, who succeeded *each other* from father to son, during thirty generations, *(until Sardanapal,)* imitated his manners."

Velleius appears to have reasoned thus:

"If there were thirty kings who succeeded each other after *Nynias,* Ninyas is not included. He is excepted by the word *other,* and because *his manners were imitated.* Therefore with Ninus and Semiramis there were thirty-three kings."

But this first expression of Diodorus, really incorrect, is rectified by his recapitulation, in which are these words:

"With respect to Sardanapal, *thirtieth and last king* from Ninus."

This is clear, positive, and does not admit the adoption of the former interpretation. Besides, the *Armenian Moses,*† (of Chorene) who cites Diodorus as one of his authorities, reckons only thirty

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* Lib. I. cap. 6.

† Moses. Choren. page 231.

kings in the list he gives us,* although he had before him that of Eusebius, who reckons thirty-six. This list of Moses appears the more exact, since his six last princes correspond perfectly, as has been said, page 403, Vol. I. with those mentioned by the Hebrews; whence there is every reason to conclude that Eusebius and Syncellus have, according to their custom, added of themselves, *Ipecheres*, *Laosthènes*, and *Ophrathènes*. (See the lists at the commencement of this §.) *Ipecheres* must be the same as *Ana-Bacherès*, the name of *Sennacherib*, in the epitaph of Sardanapal at *Anchialé*. This same prince is also called *Acrazanes* and *Akraganes*: the name of *Laosthènes* is purely Greek, and can only be the translation of an Assyrian name, signifying *force* and *power of the people* (probably Eu-phal-es, Phal.) In fine, *Ophrathènes* can be only the synonimous term for *Ophrates*, written more asiatically *Pharates*, by Moses of Chorene

As to the total duration, we have seen that we should read 1306 years in the true text of Diodorus, and not 1360. Velleius, who allowed for this duration only 1070 years, must have borrowed his calculation from some other chronologist than Ktesias. As to the 1995 years, which *Æmelius-Sura* reckoned from Ninus† to the year sixty-three, or rather sixty-five years before our era, they can

* Moses, Chor. page 51.

† *See* Velleius, Lib. I. chap. 6.

be of no use, because it is not known whether that Roman valued the Medes according to Herodotus, or according to Ktesias. Beginning with Kyrus, in the year 560, his calculation gives for the two empires, Assyrian and Mede 1500 years. If he follows Herodotus, he gives 1344 for the Assyrians; if he follows Ktesias, he allows for them only 1183.* It is clear that Sura or Velleius have made, or rather followed without examination, the chronological tables of some Lenglet of their time, without treating the question themselves.

It appears this was not the case with the chronologist Castor, who had examined the archives of several countries, to compose his parallel tables of the kings of *Argos*, *Secijon*, *Assyria*, &c. According to Eusebius,† Castor reckoned for the As-

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* Larcher, Chronology, page 144, assures us that Diodorus and Sura reckon 1310 years, and we see that is true neither of the one nor the other.

† *See* Syncellus, page 167, on this occasion; Syncellus makes an important remark on Eusebius's manner of drawing up his comparative tables: "Eusebius, says he, while he appears of the opinion of Castor, who confines the Assyrian empire to a duration of 1280 years, assigns it nevertheless 1300 years, with the number of thirty-six kings. His motive was to cover the error into which he was led concerning the time elapsed between the deluge and Abraham, by several false reasonings, among others by the omission of the name and years of Coïnan, the thirteenth from Adam, according to *Luc.*" (st.) &c.

Here Syncellus reveals to us his own secret, and that of all the ancient writers called *ecclesiastical*, who, imitating the priest *Africanus*, their model, have taken for the basis of all their calculations, the creation of the world according to the Jews, and have committed the

syrians only 1280 years, which makes a difference of twenty-six years between him and Ktesias.

A third author, who also had been particularly occupied about the Assyrians, *Kephalion*, appears to have had likewise a different result from Castor. But his fragment, cited by Syncellus, is so mutilated, that nothing can be made out of it, when its bare contents are examined.

To return to Ktesias, whose opinion and book seem to have guided the greater part of his successors, it appears that we are to consider as his true text the number of thirty generations, and the duration of 1306 years. This granted, we have a sure means of proving the falsehood of his Assyrian,

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ridiculous fault of setting out from an aerian point, undetermined in their system (since the Greek and Hebrew text differ by more than 1500 years) to descend, as in a balloon, from an unknown to a known period, when the plainest common sense prescribed setting out from known and ascertained times to ascend, step by step, to those that are less so; in the present case, having first adopted, without examination, Ktesias's system, and finding that such a number of years placed Ninus nearly in the time of Abraham, these mechanical calculators descend head-long through all the difficulties, even those of the period of the Judges, to end, without knowing how, with the kings of Nineveh and Babylon, mentioned by the Hebrews. Syncellus reproaches Eusebius with having substituted the number 1300 (and yet our list of Eusebius says 1239) to the 1280 of *Castor*, and he himself, following the example of Africanus, has raised to 1460 years the duration of the Assyrian empire, by the arbitrary introduction of four kings, unknown to all the ancients. With these inaccuracies and infidelities, repeated every instant, and peculiar to all ancient ecclesiastical authors, no reliance can be placed on their assertions, and we should be very circumspect in admitting even their quotations.

as well as Median list; for the middle term of *forty-three years and a half* to a generation, resulting from these two data, is morally and almost physically impossible; and it is the more inadmissible, as we have against it three positive testimonies.

First. The testimony of the Hebrew books, which, from *Phal* to *Sardanapal*, count five kings in a space of less than seventy years; so that Sennacherib, among others, could have reigned no more than five years, and must necessarily have been the brother of Salmanasar, or Salman-asar, the brother of Teglat.

Second. The testimony of Kephalion, of whom Syncellus has preserved for us a precious though mutilated passage.

"Suffer,"* says this compiler, "suffer another illustrious writer to demonstrate how absurd the Greek historians have been with respect to these kings of Assyria. I undertake, said Kephalion, to write the facts which Hellanicus of Lesbos, Ktesias of Knidus, and Herodotus have treated (before me). Formerly the Assyrians reigned in Asia, who were commanded by Ninus, son of Belus. Afterwards Kephalion adds the birth of *Semiramis* and of the *Mage Zoroaster*, he takes a survey of the fifty-two years of Ninus's reign. He describes the foundation of Babylon by Semiramis, and her expedition to the Indies. Now, adds he,

* Sync. page 167.

all the other kings (after her) reigned during a *thousand years*, the sons occupying *the throne of their fathers* by *right of inheritance;* but they successively degenerated from the virtues of their ancestors, so that *not one of them passed twenty years.*"*

This last phrase agrees, as we see, perfectly with the Hebrew books, whose dates, in fact, do not admit of our allowing twenty years to any of the four successors of *Phul.*

Third. Finally, since it is avowed by all historians, that the princes of Nineveh, addicted to the pleasures of the senses, lived early with women, it is impossible to admit that they did not beget their heirs till the mean term of forty-three years; they must, on the contrary, have had children at the age of nineteen or twenty, sometimes even of sixteen, of which we have three examples among the Hebrew kings. Our preceding conjecture, that some kings of Nineveh succeeded each other as brothers,

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* *Ita ut vice nalis obiret nullus.* If he said that no one *lived* twenty years, the sense would be absurd, and the *succession impossible.* Kephalion continues: *If you want to know the number of these kings, Ktesias gives, I believe, twenty-three names* (but Diodorus and Moses assert thirty.) *Now about* 640 *years after Ninus, Belimus* seized *on the empire of the Assyrians. If you reckon a thousand years from Semiramis to Methræus.* (There is here an interruption.) *To Methræus succeeded Tautanès, the twenty-second king.* (But if Ktesias reckoned only twenty-three names, Sardanapal could not follow Tautanes. There is here evidently a mutilation of the text by Syncellus.) See page 167 of his Chronography.

has the double advantage of rendering possible the number of thirty kings in 520 years, and of not contradicting the assertion that *they occupied the paternal throne by right of inheritance.* But even rejecting the number of thirty generations, as absurd, in 1306 years, there remains concerning this same number a suspicion, excited by a phrase of Kephalion, and by a passage of Hellanicus and Dicæarchus, preserved to us by Stephanus of Byzantium.*

" The Chaldeans were at first called *Kephènes*, from Kepheus, father of Andromeda. Their name of *Chaldeans* came, according to Dicæarchus, from one Chaldæus, who begot the able and powerful Ninus, founder of Nineveh: now the *fourteenth* after him, was also called *Chaldæus*, and founded, as is said, Babylon, a very celebrated city, in which he united all those who were called *Chaldeans*, and the country was named *Chaldea.*"

In no Assyrian list can we find a king *Chaldæus*, in the fourteenth generation, or at any other degree; and yet Hellanicus, contemporary with Herodotus, is a respectable authority, as well as Dicæarchus. Is not here the number fourteen a fault of the transcriber and an alteration of the number twenty-four? Then Hellanicus and Dicæarchus would agree with Kephalion, who pre-

* *Stephanus, de Urbibus*, at the word *Chaldæi.*

tended he found only *twenty-three names*:* Chaldæus would be the twenty-fourth; and because this name, which signifies *conjurer*, is synonimous with *Nabon*, which was given to all the kings of Babylon, this *Chaldæus* must be *Belesis*, the same as *Belimus*, who, according to Kephalion, *seized on the empire* of the Assyrians, long after Ninus. And in fact, why the remark, that he *seized on* the empire of the Assyrians? He therefore did not succeed by right of inheritance; he therefore was not of the family of Ninus? In fine, since by *uniting* all the *cast of the Chaldeans in Babylon*, he founded there a new empire, he was therefore really Belesis, whom alone all these circumstances answer. Add that the number of twenty-three kings, or *Ninivite* generations, agrees remarkably well with the twenty-two generations of the Lydian kings, who were exactly parallel in time. No doubt, each of our proofs is not decisive; but their re-union forms a great weight, especially when it is considered that we have only mutilated fragments as the basis of most of our operations: resembling in that respect the architect who, to recognize the dimensions of an ancient palace or temple, has only some remains of pedestals, angular stones and foundations, the correspondence of which becomes however a demonstration in the rules of the art.

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* *See* page 382, Vol. I.

Here occur several questions to be proposed to all writers who speak to us of the empire of Nineveh and its duration.

First. Have they carefully distinguished between the two different conquests and destructions of that capital by the Medes, one under *Arbak*, the other under *Kyaxares?* have they not fallen into a confusion which the similitude of the facts rendered so easy?

Second. Have they attended to that *secondary state*, or posthumous kingdom, which was organized after the death of Sardanapal, and lasted 120 or 121 years, from 717 to 597?

Third. May not Ktesias and his copyers, after having doubled the list of the Medes as to the number of the kings and their duration, have done something similar with respect to the Assyrians?

If we had the works of these writers, the demonstration for or against would be easy; but in their absence, the smallest indications become for us strong presumptions after the first example. Let us commence by our first question.

Nineveh, having been taken twice by the Medes, first in 717, under Arbak; afterwards in 597, under Kyaxares, we maintain that the resemblance of these two facts was insidious, and might occasion the confusion of their dates. A passage of Alexander Polyhistor, quoted by Syncellus (page 210) is very well explained by this hypothesis, and is entirely absurd in its literal sense.

" Nabo-pol-asar,* father of Nebuchadnezzar, is called Sardanapal, by Polyhistor, who says he sent to Astyag, satrap of Media, to demand his daughter Aroïte in marriage for his son Nebuchadnezzar. The king of the Chaldeans, *Sarak*, having confided to him his troops, he (Nabo-pol-asar) turned his arms against Sarak himself, and against the city of Nineveh. *Sarak*, affrighted by this attack, set fire to his palace, and burned himself, and the empire of the Chaldeans and of Babylon was transferred to Nabo-pol-asar, father of Nebuchadnezzar."

In this narrative, the *king* of the *Chaldeans*, who burns himself in his palace of *Nineveh*, attacked by one of his *rebel* generals, is evidently *Sardanapal*. *Sarak* is a Chaldean word, which signifies *prince*, *commander*, and which appears to have been common to all, or at least to most of the Assyrian kings; and this proves that Polyhistor, or his author Eupolemus, had original information: if to this word is added the emphatical termination *oun*, we have *Sarakoun*, or rather *Sarkoun*, nearly analogous with the *Sargoun* of whom Isaiah

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* *Nabopolassarus, pater Nabuchodonosori . . . . Hunc Sardanapalum vocat Polyhistor Alexander, qui ad Astyagem Mediæ satrapam miserit et filiam ejus Aroïtem uxorem filio suo Nabuchodonosoro sumpserit. Hic traditis sibi copiis à Sarako Chaldæorum Rege præpositus, in Sarakum ipsum et Ninivem civitatem arma vertit, cujus impetum et adventum veritus Sarakus, incensâ Regiâ igne se absumpsit. Imperium vero Chaldæorum et Babylonis collegit Nabopolasar, pater Nabuchodonosori.*

speaks, chap. xx. when he says: *The year that Tartan, sent by Sargoûn, king of Assyria, came to besiege Azot and took it.* This *Tartan* is well known to have been one of the generals of *Sennacherib*, mentioned in the book of Kings as besieging Azot; and *Sennacherib* certainly is not the *Sarak* * who burned himself. Even if Tartan

* In his commentary on the twentieth chapter of Isaiah, Saint Jerome remarks that *Sargoun* had seven different names, and we find seven for *Sennacherib;* to wit, *Anakindarax*, Anabacherès, Acrazanes, or Acraganès, Epecherès, Ocrapazes and Sargoun. This interpreter must have borrowed his opinion from the Rabbins, his masters; and he seems to point them out, when he adds, chap. xxxvi. of the same Isaiah: *others think that one and the same king of Assyria is called by different names.* These *others* were more in the right than he in the following passage:—

"I read some where, says he, that Sennacherib was the same king who took Samaria: but this is false, because we read in holy writ that a first king, *Phul*, under Menahem, laid waste the ten tribes; that a second king, Teglat, *phal asar*, under Pekahiah, came to Samaria; that a third, Salmanasar, under Hosea, took that city; that a fourth, *Sargon*, took Azot; that a fifth, Asaradon, after having transported Israel, established the Samaritans as guardians of Judæa, and that a sixth, Sennacherib, under Hezekiah, after having taken Lachis and all the other towns, besieged Jerusalem . . . *others think that one and the same prince is called by several names.*" Comment. on Isaiah, chap. xxxvi. Vol. III. p. 286.

There are a great many faults in this passage. *Sargon* is not named in the Chronicles, but in Isaiah, who wrote more than 200 years before they were compiled, and who, in his turn, does not name *Sennacherib*. Before making two kings of them, the matter should have been discussed. Secondly, *Ezra*, or his *compiler*, says, lib. I°., chap. iv. ver. 2. that *Asar-hadon* transported the tribes; but the original letter of the Samaritans, ver. 10, says it was *Asnafar;* and according to the express testimony of *Chronicles*, this *Asnafar* was Sal-

had taken Azot, under Sardanapal (which is improbable), Sardanapal would still be the *Sarak* of Polyhistor. To say that he is *Nabopolasar* is a gross error, which seems to belong to Syncellus. Nabopolasar reigned from 625 to 605, parallelly with Kyaxar, whose daughter he had in fact obtained for Nebuchadnezzar, about the year 607. Thus *Aroïté* was not the daughter, but the sister of Astyag, king in 594. Nebuchadnezzar seconded *Kyaxar*, called *Astibar*, at the siege of Nineveh, in 597. Why are Nebuchadnezzar and his father confounded with Sardanapal, who died 120 years before, in the year 717? Because the historian jumbled the first and second capture of Nineveh together, and mistook Nabopolasar for *Mardokempad-Belesis*, his predecessor. But if he confounded these two events and their dates, what has he done with the time of the duration of this *secondary state* of Nineveh, which took place from 717 to 597? Why does not Ktesias, or Kephalion, or Castor, or their copiers, say a single word of this *state?* Herodotus is the only one who makes us acquainted with it; and yet he does not tell us

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manasar. *Asar-hadon* must be an interpretation of the compiler. Thirdly, Sennacherib was not *sixth* king, posterior to Asar-adon; for sacred history says positively, that Asaradon was *his youngest son.* There is here more than negligence, there is want of judgment and criticism, and such has been the character of all ecclesiastical writers; occupied solely with matters that required an *implicit* faith, they were unacquainted with or rejected the art of discussion and criticism.

what was its form of government, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or republican. Let us hear himself:

§ CII. " *Now Deïokès reigned only over the Medes.* His son Phraortès (having succeeded him), the kingdom of the Medes could not satisfy his ambition; he attacked first the Persians, and subdued them. With these two nations, both of them powerful . . . . he marched from conquest to conquest, till his expedition against *those of the Assyrians*, who inhabited (the country) of Nineveh, formerly *masters of all the others*, but weakened by the defection of their allies; *nevertheless, still sufficiently strong, he perished in this expedition*, (in 635)."

But why did these Assyrians of Nineveh, formerly masters of all the others, form a *particular state still sufficiently strong?* " Because, after the subversion of their empire by Arbàk (in 717), *the Medes having become independent* (§ XCVI). the other nations imitated them, and *all the nations of that continent were governed by their own laws.*" The Assyrians of Nineveh, formed, therefore, likewise an independent and free state.

" Kyaxarès having succeeded to his father Phraortès, first made war upon the Lydians . . .; afterwards he came back upon the Assyrians of Nineveh, to avenge the death of his father. He had already defeated them, and was besieging their city, when the Scythian invasion (in 625) forced him to

retire (into Media). Having driven off the Scythians twenty-eight years afterwards, he returned against Nineveh, took it, and reduced under his sway all the Assyrian (nations), except those of Babylonia."

Thus it is evident, that after the great empire of Nineveh, a *second state* arose, and subsisted a little less than 120 years, since some time was necessary for its re-organization. Now, if we add to the 520 years of the first empire the 120 of the second state, we shall have a sum total of 640 years, from the first year of Ninus in 1237, till the destruction of Nineveh in 597; and if historians have not distinguished between the two captures of this city, one in 717, the other in 597; if Ktesias, in particular, has doubled the Assyrians as well as the Medes, we ought, in the numbers presented to us, by him or others, to discover the double of our numbers; to wit: at one time the double of 520, equal to 1040; at another the double of 640 equal to 1280, and perhaps even the simple number 120 added to 1040, equal to 1160, &c. Let us try if we can find any thing of the kind.

First, we have this remarkable phrase of Kephalion, cited in Syncellus (above, page 21). *Now about 640 years after Ninus, Belimus seized on the empire of the Assyrians.* Here is exactly the second capture of Nineveh; 520 plus 120 equal 640: plus 597, total, 1237: here *Belimus-Belesis* is taken for Kyaxar. Kephalion has therefore con-

founded the second capture with the first, as Polyhistor has done.*

Secondly, we have *Castor's* recapitulation, who, according to Eusebius and Syncellus, reckoned 1280 years for the duration of the empire of Nineveh. But 1280 is so exactly the double of 640, that it is almost impossible it could have had another source. But what will convert our conjecture into certainty, is another passage of Castor, quoted by Syncellus:†

There are authors who affirm, that after Sardanapal, the empire of the Assyrians was transferred to Ninus: it is the opinion of Castor, who says:— "I have placed in the first line the Assyrian kings of the blood and dynasty of Belus. Though there is nothing positive concerning the time of that prince's reign, I thought it necessary to mention him. I have placed Ninus at the head of my chronographical table, and I end with Ninus successor of Sardanapal."

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* In the list of Eusebius, we have a *Baletores*, in the year 649, which makes no material difference: and this Babylonian name, *Balatsar*, again occurs in the *Belitaras* of Agathias, evidently *Belesis*.

† *Post Sardanapalum Assyriorum imperium Ninum obtenuisse alii asserunt, e quorum numero prodit Castor, qui hæc verba scribit. Primo quidem ordine Reges Assyriorum generis et imperii seriem a Belo ducentes locavimus, quanquam de ejus imperii tempore certa et aperta notitia non constet, nominis equidem agimus memoriam. A Nino quoque Chronographiæ principium duximus, et in Ninum Sardanapali successorem desinimus.* Syncellus, page 206.

Some moderns, and among others the translator of Herodotus, have supposed, from this passage, that the Ninivites, become free, recalled the children of Sardanapal, who had been entrusted to the faithful *Cotta*, governor of Paphlagonia, and that the new king took the name of Ninus. But Ktesias's account in Diodorus, and that of Herodotus, do not give the slightest support to this hypothesis. On the contrary, our analysis discovers and demonstrates the mistake of Castor, who, by doubling the duration of Nineveh, has doubled the dynasty of Ninus; and our explanation finds an additional support from the following narrative of Agathias.*

"Ninus appears to have been the first who consolidated this empire: after him reigned first Semiramis, and then the posterity (of these two founders) until *Belus Derketade*, (that is to say descended of Derketo, who is Semiramis) . . . . Then

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* *Ninus primò videtur imperium stabilisse, et post eum Semiramis, ac deinceps omnes horum posteri ad Belum Derketadæ filium. Cumque in hoc Belo Semiramicæ stirpis successio desineret, Belitaras quidam vir insitor et hortorum qui in Regiâ erat curator et magister, imperium sibi mira ratione vindicavit, suo que generi inserit, prout Bion et Alexander Polyhistor memoriæ prodiderunt, donec, Sardanapalo regnante, ut illi scribunt, quum emarcuisset imperium, Arbakes Medus et Belesys Babylonius, illud Assyriis eripuerunt interfecto rege, et ad Medos transtulerunt sex et trecentis jam suprà mille et paulò ampliùs annis elapsis ex quo Ninus primùm summam rerum obtinuerat. Ita enim Ktesia Cnidio tempora describenti, Diodorus assentitur. Medi itaque rursum imperium sunt adepti. Agathias*, lib. II, page 63.

the race of Semiramis becoming extinct with this *Belus*, one Belitaras, steward of the gardens of the palace (Bostangi Bachi), seized on the sceptre in an almost miraculous manner, and transmitted it to his race (or cast), according to the account of Bion and Polyhistor, until the authority, degraded under Sardanapal, was wrested from the Assyrians, by the Mede Arbâk and the Babylonian Belesys. Sardanapal having been killed, the empire was transferred to the Medes, a little more than 1306 years after the elevation of Ninus, as Diodorus says, after Ktesias. The Medes, therefore, got *anew* into possession of the supremacy (or of the empire)."

Let the reader reflect on these words:—*The family of Semiramis and Ninus reigned until Belus Derketade. Then a stranger, great officer of the palace, seized on the sceptre in an almost miraculous manner, and this stranger's name is Belitaras.* Is not this evidently *Belesis*, with his astrological *predictions?* Ktesias, in Diodorus, affirms that Sardanapal, thirtieth king, descended directly from father to son, from Ninus. Therefore he is the same as *Belus* Derketade, the last descendant of Ninus and Semiramis. After Belitaras, comes a second race, the last of which is Sardanapal; . . . therefore, this race is a repetition of the first, since that prince was descended from Ninus; and remark the expression, the Medes got *anew* into possession of the empire. Is not the doubling evident?

The number 1306 contains twice 640 plus twenty-six years. We cannot discover whence these twenty-six years proceed; but it is sufficient to have ascertained the principal operation; the accessories may be owing to some accident of calculation or interpolation of a reign, of no great consequence.

From all that has been said in the foregoing articles, it results;

First. That Ktesias has knowingly, and systematically doubled the list of the Median kings, in order to make the Assyrian agree with the Greek calculations concerning the taking of Troy.

Second. That, as a consequence of the same system, it appears that a similar doubling took place in the Assyrian *times*, without its being possible to demonstrate it so rigorously, because we have neither the list of Herodotus, nor the autographical books of Ktesias and others, and that no credit can be given to their copyers, Eusebius, Syncellus,* &c.

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* As to the motive of this fault, we discover only one which appears plausible: The Greek physician Ktesias, made prisoner by the Persians in the battle of *Kounaxa*, in the year 401, before Jesus Christ, arrived at the court of Artaxerxes, about thirteen years after the Egyptians *revolted*, that is recovered their national independence, of which they had been deprived 112 years before, by Cambyses, son of Kyrus. *The Great king*, incensed against them, carried on the war, but with little success. His counsellors must, according to custom, have given to this war motives the most legitimate, or the best

Third. That the falsehood of Ktesias's chronological system does not however prove the nullity of all his historical relations, since most of the facts which we found it necessary to borrow from him coincide perfectly with the chronology of Herodotus. Our researches in this respect have made us discover a curious and instructive instance, in the person of that *Araïos, king of the Arabians*, whom Ktesias mentions as the ally of Ninus, and a co-operator in his conquests. On turning over the chronicles of the modern Arabians, we were surprised to find in them an Homerite, king of

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adapted to the people's understandings. In all countries, a priority of possession was always looked upon as one of the rights establishing property. According to the Egyptians, their king Sesostris had subdued Persia about the year 1354, before our era; and though he subdued it only cursorily, the Egyptians could take advantage of it, to say it was not they, but the Persians, who were *rebels*. It must, therefore, have been a study, a necessity imposed on the latter, to prove or render plausible that the Assyrians, whose heirs and representatives they considered themselves, had possessed Egypt a long time before that epoch, and the more ancient this possession was, the more difficult it became to refute them. Hence the system of falsification which placed Ninus at more than 2000 years before our era, and which attributed to him, as well as to Semiramis, an extent of conquest that had never taken place. When we attribute to Ktesias the doubling of the Medes, we do not pretend to say it was not the work of the *learned* of the court of Artaxerxes; but we believe, that of the Assyrians to belong to them exclusively, and that Ktesias himself was led into error: what will render this historical imposture of the ancient Persians credible and even probable, is, that in our chapter of Zoroaster there shall be given an avowed instance of another similar imposture, committed by a king of Persia, Sasanid, in concert with his clergy, relatively to the dynasty of the Parthians.

Iemen, uniting the name and qualities described, with this particular circumstance, that the epoch of this king coincides with that of Ninus, in Herodotus's system: that is, it falls on the junction of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before our era (between 1190, and 1230.) We presume this anecdote will be the more agreeable to our readers, as the branch of history from whence we extract it is almost entirely unknown to our modern compilers.

§ XI. *Chronology of the Homerite Arab, favourable to Herodotus's plan.*

The reader recollects that Ktesias, in his fragment on the Assyrians, mentioned a king of Arabia, named *Ariæus*, or *Araïos*, whom Ninus contracted an alliance with, in order to dispose of the *valiant warriors, then abounding in that country*. Until the present day it was not known who this *king* was, nor even over what *Arabia* he reigned. On perusing the historical fragments preserved by the Arabians, of their antiquities, and which have been translated by the learned Richard Pocock* and Albert Schultens,† we conceive we recognise the actions, and even the name, of this personage in one of the kings of ancient *Arabia-felix*, now Iemen, a country which Greek and Roman writers

* *Specimen Historiæ Arabum.*

† *Historia imperii vetutissimi Joctanidarum in Arabiâ-felice. In* 4to. *Hardevorici Gueldrorum*, 1786.

often speak of as the seat of a powerful nation, but of which they never had any clear notions, on account of the great distance. Our moderns themselves were scarcely better informed on the subject we are treating, before M. A. Schultens had collected and published, in his curious book of the *ancient empire of the Jectanids*, all that Aboulfeda, and four other Arabian historians had themselves collected of the traditions and documents concerning the ancient kingdom *Kimiar*, or of the *Homérites*, in Iemen. Unfortunately, after reading the five fragments we speak of, we discover that they underwent great alterations from the Mussulmen, who were the first that gave themselves the trouble of extracting the *chronicles* of these *infidels*; and we even perceive that these chronicles were, in the original, incomplete and truncated; but this does not prevent us from being persuaded that they existed, and that their fragments, such as they are given us, are as authentic as most of the books of the Greeks and Latins. Now it results from these fragments:

First. That under the name of Arabians, *children of Himiar*, there existed in *Arabia-felix*, or *Iemen*, much more than six hundred years before the age of David and Solomon, a civilized and powerful people, known to the Greeks at a late period, by the name of *Homerites* or *Sabeans*.

Second. That this people had a regular government, and a series of kings, whose origin is lost in the remotest antiquity.

Third. That the order of succession was very often interrupted, either by civil wars, arising from the pernicious custom of the Asiatic kings, of partitioning their estates among their children; or by wars with the Abyssinian Ethiopians, who had the same manners and the same language.

Fourth. That these kings, habitually masters of *Iemen*, properly so called, were often so likewise of the country of *Hadramaut* and other frontier districts, and that they had a territory at least six times more considerable than that of the Hebrews, before the schism of Samaria;

Fifth. That the first and habitual residence of these kings was the city of *Mareb*, called also *Saba*, that is to say, the *Victorious*, from the name of an ancient king, called *Abd-el-chems* (servant of the sun), who got afterwards the surname of *Saba*, or *conqueror*, because he *brought* a number of *captives bound*,* whom he employed in executing great works, among others the causeway or dyke of the lake of Mareb.

Sixth. In fine, that long before the kings of the Hebrews, those of Iemen had made remote expe-

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* The Latin observes the same analogy of words and ideas; for *vincere* (to conquer), is but a modification of *vincire, to bind, vinctus, victus, vinctor, victor.* The historian Hamza declares that the etymology of *Saba* embarrasses him; but it is exact in Hebrew; where *Sabah* (Schabah) signifies *to carry captive.* Thus the ancient Homerite was analogous with the Hebrew, and we shall see another example of it in the names of *Zohâk.*

ditions, at one time to the west of the Red Sea, by the interior of Africa, towards Tombout and as far as Morocco; at another to the north, as far as the Caspian gates, and sometimes to India.

Unfortunately, in their vague and sometimes contradictory narrations concerning the succession of these Arabian kings, our Mussulmen compilers give us only one known date, which becomes our only resource in all the exact or probable calculations that can be made.

"This date is the reign of *Balqis*, daughter of *Had-had*, son of Amrou, son of *Cherâhil*, who succeeding to her father, as was not unusual in these countries, became, after a reign of twenty years, the wife of Solomon (according to Hamza) and followed him into Palestine. The Homerites pretend that she built a palace at Mareb, and constructed the celebrated dyke *of the lake* of that city; but the other Iemenders assure us that the dyke had been long constructed, and that Balqis only repaired it."

Setting out from this known epoch, we can say that Balqis began to reign about the year 1030 (since Solomon began to reign in 1018): her father *Had-had* reigned, before her, twenty years according to some, seventy-five according to others.

On this occasion we shall make two indispensible observations; one, that M. Schultens' authors so vary as to the duration of the reigns, when they do give it, that no attention can be paid to them.

ARABIAN KINGS OF SABA, OR HOMERITES.

Contemporaries.

Princes predetermined and Kings not successive.

Qahtan or Jeqtan.

Jârab.

Jechehâb.

First. Abd-el-chems, called *Saba*.

Homair — Kahlan — Amrou — Acher.

Aouf — or Atel 1 — Matât

Bazan — Saksak 2

Aamer-Zou-riâche *(expels)* — Jafar (3)

and is *expelled* by (4) Nâman-el-moafer.

5 Asmah

6

7

8

9

10

11

Ninus 12

13

14

15 Aâd

16 Chedâd

Haret Arrâïès

17 Elsâh-zou'l Quarnain.

18 Abraha-zou'l minâr.

19 Afriqos: afterwards his son *El Faider*, (or according to others) Amrou zou'l azaar (brother of Afriqos.)

20

21 Cherâhîl.

22 Haddad.

Solomon 23 Balquis (his daughter.)

Kêqobad and Roustan.

Shamar (or Chamar) called Jerâche, ruins Sogd, which took the name of *Samarkand*.

Aboumalek.

El-aqrân settles a colony in *Sin* or Tibet.

Saba *the little*

The other, that to several kings who preceded Belqis, they assign reigns of 120 and 125 ages, of 300 and 400 years, which have an analogy with the accounts of the Hebrews in the time of Moses and the Judges, and which authorize and confirm the ideas we have developed concerning the value of years under *twelve* months. *(See* First Part.)

Our authors are not agreed concerning the genealogy of Had-had. One makes him the immediate son of Cherâhil; others his grandson, by Amrou. These confusions are easy among the Arabians, on account of the repetition of the same names in families. *Aboul-feda* remarks that Cherâhil was not the son of a king, but that he was elected by the people, fatigued with the wars which these kings were incessantly carrying on in Africa. Two circumstances of these wars are mentioned, which become vouchers of their reality.

The first is, that the Homerite prince, predecessor of Cherâhil, was surnamed the *lord* of *monsters* or *terrors (Zou-l-Azâar)*, because he brought from Lybia prisoners of a small and hideous race of men, whose heads appeared sunk in their breasts. Now this same race of men is also mentioned in the history of the Greeks and Romans, who call them *Blemmyes*, and their aspect caused the same impression of horror in Rome, when conducted there in triumph.

The second is that another anterior prince was surnamed *Zou-l-Minar*, *lord* of the *Pharos;* be-

cause, in an expedition to the country of the Negros, he erected towers supplied with *lanterns*, in order to find again his road across the ocean of sand.

A third prince, after sending into this desert several detachments, who all perished, erected on the frontiers of the sands a pillar, bearing an explanatory inscription.

These repeated expeditions of several successive kings, indicate powerful motives of curiosity or ambition, either to arrive at some rich country, such as Tombouctou, or to penetrate as far as the ocean, an idea of which might be got by the caravans, or towards the Mediterranean, in that part where soon after Carthage was built, and where already perhaps some Phenician colonies were settled: these all are indications of a commerce already ancient, concerning whose history the learned professor *Heeren** has given us new and luminous ideas, which account for the prosperity of these countries at unknown epochs.

As to the ascending series of these kings, it continues to be confused; for beyond *Cherâhil*, *Aboulfeda* reckons upwards.

First, Amrou Dou-l-Azaar; secondly, his bro-

* Ideas concerning the political and commercial relations of the ancient nations of Africa, *in German;* by A. H. L. Heeren, Professor of Philosophy at Gottinghen, &c., one of the best historical books published in our time, of which we have but a very imperfect translation, published in the year 8 (1800).

ther Afriqos; son, thirdly, of Abraha-zou-el-Minar; son, fourthly, of El-Sab-Zoul-Qarnain; son of, fifthly, *Haret Arraïés*.

Hamza, on the contrary, suppresses *el Sâb;* pretends that Abraha reigned 183 years, *Afriqos* 164, and *Zoûl-Azaar* twenty-five; whilst, according to Noueïri, the successor of Haret was Hàïar, son of *Galeb*, son of *Zeid*, which Hàïar reigned 120 years: according to *Ebn-Hamdoun*, the successor of *Afriqos* was his son *El-Faider* Zou-Chanâtir, who went into Iràq (Babylonia), and perished there.

But all these authors agree concerning Haret-Arraïés, as being the most remarkable prince by his great actions.

"On his accession (says Hamza), Jaman was divided into two States, that of *Saba* and that of Hadramaut. *Haret* united them by conquest. Before him, the Iamanese had not been collected into one national body, (except in the time of Homeir). It was under Haret that they all *united;* it was he whom they all *followed;* whence his surname of *Tobba* [he who *is followed*], a surname which afterwards became the peculiar title of all his successors. After having subdued Iemen, he undertook great expeditions, which extended as far as the *Hend* (the Indus): he defeated the *Turks* in *Aderbidjan*, in a very bloody battle; he carried away a number of their children into slavery, and *returned* to Iemen with a *booty* of *immense value;*

it was on that account he got the surname of Arraïès, *he who enriches*, (literally who *covers with feathers*, no doubt because the feather of the ostrich was with these people the emblem of opulence)."

Now let us compare these details with those of Ktesias.

Ninus forms an alliance with the king of Arabia. The historians of that country assure us there were no other *kings of the Arabians* than those of Iemen. This *king* of Arabia was named *Ariaios* or *Araïos*. Haret's surname is *Arraïés*. *Ariaios accompanied Ninus against Pharnus, king of the Medes.* Arraïés fought a *terrible battle* in *Adarbidjan*, which is the proper and original Media; his enemies were *Turks*, that is to say, men of a *white complexion*, like the mountaineers of that country, whom the Arabian and Persian authors called *Turks;* because, having no idea of the *ancient Medes*, they thought the country had always been inhabited by *Turkmans*, as in their time. Arraïés penetrated to the Indus.—According to Ktesias, Ninus went there also. Arraïés brought back an immense booty. Ninus loaded Ariaïos with the richest spoils. With so many circumstances of a perfect resemblance, there is no doubt but the Arabian *Haret-Arraïés* was the Ariaïos of Ktesias and of Ninus, and we shall see a last supplementary proof of it in the Persian traditions concerning the Pichedâd dynasty. Will it be objected that the interval between *Haret* and Balqis

is not filled up by a sufficient number of generations? In fact, the authors reckon only five or six princes for 200 years: but from Balqis to Alexander they count only seven, in about 670 years. It is evident (they complain and warn us of it themselves), that all these successions are fractured and incomplete, as are also the Persian dynasties of *Kéïan* and *Pichedâd*, as shall be seen. It is perhaps to supply the deficiency, that some ancient chronologist has assigned to *Arrâïés* a reign of 125 years, according to *Nouèïri;* of 150 according to Hamza; and to his successors, *Abraha* and *Afriqos*, to one a reign of 164, and to the other of 183 years, &c.; these numbers are absurd, and their real causes of error must be henceforth unknown. We have only fragments, and must content ourselves with finding in them the principal coincidences already observed. ' One of them is to see *Haret* placed at least five or six reigns above Balqis, especially when the unconnected and mutilated accounts of authors lead us to conclude that there were civil troubles and changes of dynasty. In contradiction of the above objection, we should state, that having ascertained the identity of the personage, we possess the means of rectifying these monuments, and of appreciating their errors. Finally, we shall see in the Persian traditions, that on comparing the respective epochs of the three Tobbas, called *first*, *second*, and *middle*, the identity of Haret and Ariaïos is also confirmed.

Since Haret was contemporary with Ninus, his reign in Arabia must have commenced about 1240, because before being called upon by Ninus, a considerable time was necessary to subdue Iemen, and unite its several principalities to that of Hadramaut, which was his first domain. Here we obtain the means of classing another remarkable event, mentioned by M. Schultens' authors:

"They tell us *that fifteen fathers, that is to say, fifteen generations before* Haret, there lived and reigned *Homeir*, son of *Saba*, who, first of the race of *Qahtan* (Joktan), reigned over all Iemen *(Hamza)*. He was son of *Saba-abd-el-chems*, and drove off the *Temoûd* Arabians from Iemen into the Hedjaz *(Aboulfeda)*.

"He was the most skilful horseman and most beautiful man of his time: his name of *Homeir* (red) came from his being always clad in that colour. He was the first who placed on his head a golden crown; he reigned fifty years. (Nouèïri)."

If we apply to those *fifteen fathers* or *generations* our middle term of twenty-seven years, we have 405 plus 1240, equal to 1645 years: that is to say *Homeir* lived about 1650 years before our era. Our author (Nouèïri), adds that he was contemporary with *Qaïder*, son of *Ishmaël*, son of *Abraham*, which in the Jewish system means the nineteenth century before our era. Here then the Arabians of Iemen have kings and an ancient social state, more than 600 years before the little Hebrew

people; and yet it is far from being the epoch of their origin.

But, to return to Ninus, how does it happen that this king of the *Assyrians* living at *Kelané* or *Telané*,* in the country of *Sennar* in Mesopotamia, in latitude $36\frac{1}{2}$, thought of forming an alliance with a king of Arabians living at *Mareb-Saba*, in *Arabia-felix*, in 12° latitude, at a distance of near 500 leagues across the deserts of *Nadjd?*

At first view this fact seems to create a great difficulty: but it can be resolved very plausibly by several circumstances which are found in the monuments of the ancient Arabians.

These monuments already told us (*see* above, the article of the Jews, p. 216, Vol. I.) "that the most ancient inhabitants of Arabia were the tribes of *Aâd*, *Tamoud*, *Tasm* and *Djodaï;* that *Aâd* inhabited *Hadramaut;* Tamoud the *Hedjaz* and *Tehama;* Tasm the Haouas on the east of the Tigris and south of Persia; Djoudaï the country of *Hou*, which is *Jemama;* and that these ancient nations had subdued and possessed Iraq (which is Babylonia)."

These are, therefore, the people that Ninus found there, whether they took shelter there 400 years be-

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* *See* Stephanus of Byzantium, who writes *Telané*, probably by an alteration of K into T, or because the Syrians pronounced *ké, ché*, like the Arabians.

fore, during the wars of Saba, or that they settled here before that epoch, as is probable.

Now if, according to these same traditions, *Haret* was descended from Saba the Homerite, he was an Arabian of the Joktanid race, and consequently an *hereditary enemy* of the four ancient Kushite tribes; and we see at once why he drove out of Iemen that of Tamoud, and why he was so intimate with the Assyrian Ninus, the political enemy of the four tribes.

It is true that according to Aboulfeda, Haret reckoned in the number of his ancestors an Aâdite prince called Shedâd; but besides that Aboulfeda or his authors might be mistaken, this circumstance would change nothing in the real state of the facts, because pacifications might produce such alliances, which are even still common among the Arabians.

Besides, let us not forget that, acccording to the traditions preserved by Hilkiah, the Assyrians and the people of Iemen must have looked on themselves as relations, since they equally pretended to be descended from *Shem*, son of *Nouh;* and this relationship seems to be supported by the following facts:

First. Their language was constructed on the same principles of grammar and syntax.

Second. The word Ashour (Assyrian), is translated literally by the Latin words *felix*, *dives*, happy and rich. . . . But Iemen has no other name than

that of *Arabia-felix* among the ancient Latins and Grecks, who were only the translators of the orientalists; Iemen was in Assyria.

Third. In fine, it seems that the alphabetical letters were the same amongst the Assyrians and the ancient Arabians of Iemen: the modern Arabians, who adopted the Syrian alphabet only since the age of Mahomet, inform us, that before that epoch the other Arabians, and especially those of Iemen, had an alphabetical system totally different.

" Our Arabian letters (say they), are written from right to left. Those of the Hemiarites (Homerites), are written from left to right (like the Greek and Ethiopian): they are connected (together), like the Ethiopian letters. They are called *Mosnad*, or *leant*, which is also said of several other ancient, and unknown writings.*

" There are twelve kinds of writing, says *Maulaebn-Kair;* to wit Arabian, *Hemiarite*, Greek, *Persian*, Syrian, Hebrew, Roman, Copt, *Berbere*, Andalusian, Indian and Chinese."

In this enumeration, we can determine all the kinds, except the *Hemiarite:* by *Berbere* must be understood the Ethiopian, of which Ludolf has

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* *See* a very elaborate Memoir of M. de Sacy, on the Literature and Monuments of the Arabians, Vol. XLVIII. of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Letters, page 247 and following.

given us a dictionary. The *Persian* writing is the *Zend*, with which Hyde and Anquetil have made us acquainted; the Indian is the Sanscrit; the Andalusian is the writing called by Velasquez *unknown characters of the ancient Spaniards.* The Hemiarite remains, therefore, the only one without any known type; but since in this table we do not find the *writing with nails*, traced on the ruins of Persepolis and on the bricks of the foundation-walls of ancient Babylon, may it not be conjectured that this nail-writing is the Hemiarite? It is allowed that these walls and bricks owe their origin to the Assyrian Semiramis; consequently, the characters which the Assyrians made use of, are those letters which Herodotus calls *Assyrian* letters, having an analogy with the characters of Persepolis, but more complicated: now if at the epoch of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonasar, that is to say, when the native race of the Chaldeans had recovered its national independence, the alphabetical writing of the Babylonians was what is called *Chaldaic*, analogous with that of the Syrians and Phenicians, have we not a right to conclude that the Assyrians and Homerites, as children of *Shem*, had a common and identical system of letters, in the same manner as the Phenicians and Chaldean-Arabs, as children of Kush, had also a common one, but different from the former, being at enmity with them. To obtain the demonstration of this hypothesis, it would be

necessary to discover some ancient Arabian monument at *Mareb*, or in other towns of Arabia-felix.*

As to the nail-writing intrinsically considered, it is another enigma that has not yet found its Œdipus.† Let us try if still taking Herodotus for our guide, we shall better succeed with the two chronological sphinxes which till the present day have so much puzzled our predecessors.

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* A severe illness prevented the estimable Niebuhr from obtaining a copy, which he was told was taken from an ancient inscription; but the source from whence it came to him, would have left us reasonable suspicions.

† It was believed for a moment that M. Grotefend had been so fortunate; but his explanation had no effect, nor could it have any, because it is founded on two words which we believe very incorrectly spelt. M. Grotefend says that *Darios* ought to be written Darheusch and *Xerxes*, *Khsch-h-er-Schè:* it is very probable that the *Xerxes* of the Greeks had not for its type so complicated a word, and that it is only the double syllable *shir shah* which, in modern-Persian, signifies the *lion-king;* and all the edifice falls to the ground. Let us hope that the brazen plates found at Cochin by the English Missionaries, and on which were engraved in the third or fourth century, in nail letters, privileges granted to the Jews or Christians, will furnish us with a better key. *See* on this subject a learned and judicious letter of M. de Sacy, in the Encyclopedical Magazine, eighth year, p. 438; and for the Hemiarite letters, *see* the Memoir of the same learned writer, Vol. XLVIII. of the Academy of Inscript.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF PERSIA, MENTIONED BY MODERN ORIENTALS, UNDER THE NAME OF THE PISHDÂD AND KEÂN DYNASTIES.—EPOCHS OF ZOHÂK, OF FERIDOUN, AND OF THE LEGISLATOR ZERDOUST, CALLED ZOROASTER.

At what time did the celebrated legislator called Zoroaster by the Greeks, and *Zardast* or *Zerdoust* by the orientalists, live? and in what centuries are we to place the two dynasties *Pishdâd*, and *Kéân* or *Kaïan*, which the modern Persians pretend to have existed among them anteriorly or contradictorily to the accounts of the Greeks? Such are the two problems which shall occupy us in this chapter. Let us begin by examining the first.

§ I. *Epoch of the legislator Zoroaster.*

All historians speak of Zoroaster as a religious legislator, much more celebrated in Asia, and almost as ancient as Moses; and nevertheless, in the first century of the Christian era, the period when he lived, was become so obscure a question, that Pliny, the naturalist, that man of such a vast erudition, who had before him the writings of so many authors, could only express his doubts. In modern times, and particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Pliny's reserve has been imitated

by most of the learned who could not reconcile the chronological differences of the Greek and Latin authors: but those of the eighteenth century, bolder, thought themselves more fortunate. Extracts from a number of oriental books having been produced, first by our countryman Herbelot, in his *Oriental Library* (published in 1697), afterwards by Professor Thomas Hyde, an Englishman, in his Latin work on the *religion of the ancient Persians*, printed in 1700, it was believed that an historical truth was discovered in modern Asia, which had remained unknown in the west. In fact, all the Arabian and Persian books cited, seem to agree in placing Zoroaster near the reign of Darius Hystaspes, king of Persia; and, nevertheless, when pressed for the precise date, they are found uncertain and wavering between the years 250, 280, and even 300 before Alexander: critics are particularly shocked at seeing reduced to five generations the series of the kings of Persia, which the most authentic monuments of the Macedonians and Romans prove to have consisted of thirteen princes; and at not finding any distinct mention made of the reigns of Xerxes and Kyrus, who so greatly agitated Asia. These objections, and several others no less important, which we shall see hereafter, cannot have escaped Professor *Hyde:* but seduced by the eclat of novelty, and by the specious paradox, that the orientalists, *being natives, must know their country better than strangers, like the Greeks and*

Romans, Hyde passionately espoused the Asiatic system, and thought he was the first who proved, that Zoroaster really appeared under the reign of Darius Hystaspes. Seduced by the authority of his countryman, Prideaux endeavoured to colour his hypothesis, and extended it more and more in his book of the *History of the Jews;* and, because it was afterwards adopted by the authors of the *Universal History*, Hyde's opinion may be said to have become predominant and almost classical: it was nearly overturned among us, when *Anquetil* du Perron brought us from India the pretended works of Zoroaster, and declared in the life of that legislator,* that Hyde's opinion appeared to him an *hypothesis subject to great difficulties;* but he afterwards gave it additional force, by adopting it in a particular memoir,† where, in a whimsical and characteristic manner, he censures Hyde for having *too much confidence in the Orientals*, and *for badly supporting* their thesis: by another singular circumstance, it is on reading Anquetil's censure and arguments, that we felt the strongest motives to doubt, and that afterwards detecting the defects of his and Hyde's method, we employed a better, by acting, not the part of an advocate pleading a cause, but of a recorder who weighs the reasons on both sides, and above all who questions the relaters by

* *See* the Zend-avesta published in 1769, Vol. II. page 62.

† Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Vol. XXXVII.

order of date, to ascend to the first sources of the facts and opinions: let the reader pronounce.

First, it is acknowledged that the books brought from India by Anquetil, as *Zoroaster's*, were never written by that legislator, and are merely legends and liturgies composed by the magi *Mobeds* and *Herbeds*,* at epochs not ascertained, but late and parallel with the reigns of the *Sasanids*, that is from the year 226 of our era to near 1200. The *Boundehesch* itself, which du *Perron* represents as a Persian Genesis or Cosmogony, the Boundehesch contains incontestible proofs of modernity, since among its recapitulations of *times elapsed*, after speaking of *Zohâk*, Feridon, &c. it cites first *Eskander* Roumi, that is to say *Alexander the Roman*, as having reigned fourteen years; then the *Asganian (Arsakid)* kings, as having reigned 284 years; then the duration of Sasanids, 460 years; and finally, the *coming of the Arabs*.† And the author of this book, the most important, the only important one of all these tiresome and barren legends, gives us a proof of his ignorance *(we may even say of his bad faith)*, when he attributes fourteen years reign to Alexander the *Roman*, instead of *Greek*, who reigned only six; and when

* *Bishops* and *curates* of the *Parsis* or *Guebres*, who are in Asia what the Jews are in Europe, the scattered remnants of an ancient people destroyed.

† Boundehesch, page 420.

he reduces to 284 the interval that separated *Arsak* and *Ardechir*, amounting to 481.

A second fact, equally certain, is that none of the Persian or Arabian works cited as authorities, were published before the first century of the Mussulman era (from 730 to 750 of our era), and that the most celebrated historians and poets, such as *Ferdousi* and *Mirkhond*, date only, to wit, the first in the year 1000, and the second in the year 1500 of our era. And from what sources, what monuments have they taken their accounts? Some Europeans, prepossessed or superficial, answer that it was from their *national monuments*. But the Mussulmen themselves allow that the Arabians, conquerors of *Jezdeguerd*, in 652, and since that period the spoilers rather than the possessors of Persia, proscribed the adorers of fire and their books, with that zeal and fury which made them burn the library of Alexandria; and these books, always in manuscript, consequently scarce and dear, as they always have been in Asia, had the greater difficulty to escape proscription, as they were written in letters absolutely different from the Arabian; as they had already undergone persecutions of sect to sect, under their own kings, and as the unremitting wars since Alexander, after destroying the originals, prevented the reproduction of copies and the culture of history. Such was the depopulation of monuments and Persian books, that about the year 1000 of our era, Sultan Mahmoud,

son of *Sebekteghin*, wishing to know the history of the country he had conquered, could procure no work of the kind, and was obliged to give the Arabian *Deqiqi* the commission, to collect the romances, traditions and popular tales of the various countries of the Persian empire, in order to extract some information from them. But how did the Arabian *Deqiqi* report his discoveries? In verse, that is to say, as an Arabian poet, rich in stories and hyperboles; and it is on this main canvas that Ferdousi has composed his *Royal History* (Shah-Nameh) also in verse, to the number of sixty thousand distichs. But what can be expected from popular traditions, disfigured from generation to generation by the narrators, and embroidered afterwards by the unbridled imagination, which dictated the thousand and one nights? Also these pretended histories of ancient and even modern Persia, till the time of the Arabians, are but a rhapsody of anachronisms and improbabilities: we cannot conceive how Europeans, men of sense, such as Prideaux and the authors of *Universal History*, instead of first examining and discussing the sources and means of information of the Persian and Arabian writers, seem to have only studied to establish the authenticity of their narratives, and to substitute for the most evident disorder a factitious arrangement, intended to conceal its gross defects.* No doubt,

* *See* Universal History, Vol. IV. in 4°. page 1, and following.

with what is called *wit*, it is possible to support and contest every thing; but, in history, *wit* is but the art of discerning or demonstrating truth; and the attempt to belie by means of the modern Asiatics, the ancient Greek authors, so shocks all probability, that it is inconceivable such an hypothesis could find partizans. It has been attempted to lay down as a principle of right, "that the Asiatics are to be believed preferably concerning the history of their country, because, as *natives*, they ought to know better what happened amongst them, than strangers such as the Greeks and Romans."

But this proposition, general and vague of itself, only presents, when analysed, a paradox and abuse of words. In fact, besides that the knowledge of what happens in a country depends in a great measure on the nature of its government, and that *publicity* and *free circulation* are not allowed in despotic states, such as those of Asia generally were; it is also certain that these *pretended natives*, especially those of Persia, are, by their own confession and by their history, the product, for the most part, of the foreign races that accompanied the conquerors who successively invaded and possessed these countries. Let us omit Alexander, whose political system was to confound races and opinions, in order to destroy the enmities and wars of sect with sect and nation with nation: after him, the revolutions of the Seleucids and Arsakids con-

tinued to agitate and trouble the Persian empire in a state of dissolution; to introduce into it, by the recruiting of the armies, a multitude of strangers of every description, who, by intermarriages with the native women, produced in the families modifications of manners, language, &c.; what had been a distinct people becoming united provinces, the inhabitants could remove from one to another, and settle there, which was not possible before: the Sasanid dynasty, by wresting the sceptre from the *Parthians*, produced new changes. The north of Persia had governed the south; then the south commanded the north. Afterwards came Mahomet's Arabians, then the Tartars of Tamerlane, who successively, but especially the *Arabians*, exterminated the ancient race and changed its religion, manners, customs, traditions, books, and even its system of writing. The *Parsis* alone, expelled like the Jews, wandering like them, but much less numerous, are the remnants of the Persian race of *Darius* and *Ardechir*. But in their inevitable mixture with the nations that tolerate, or persecute them, will it be said that the Jews of Portugal and Poland, so different from one another, resemble the Hebrews of Solomon? Besides, what means the expression *direct descendants?* Because the Swiss are descended from the *Helvetii*, and the Auvergnats from the *Arverni*, will it be said they know the history of *Ariovistus* and *Vercingetorix* better than the Roman conqueror, who handed it

down to us? there might still be some excuse if the natives opposed the accounts of foreigners, by accounts and monuments of the *same time*: that is the question: it consists much more in the *identity* of time, than in the identity of country; and in this respect it is entirely in favour of the Greeks; even in the other, it is still favourable to them, since Herodotus, Ktesias, and Strabo were also *Asiatics*, and that the two former *were born subjects of the great-king*. But besides, even if they were strangers come from the centre of Europe, we may venture to assert, that travellers like Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, and so many other writers who followed the Greek and Roman armies, had, to observe well, and to describe truly the country and its events, means equal, and in some respects superior, to those of the natives. To pretend to-day that their accounts, so minute, so connected by all the circumstances which give rise to probability or moral certainty, merit less confidence than the fabulous, delirious and absurd accounts which compose, almost without an exception, the oriental histories, is, we repeat it, a monstrous paradox, which can only suit *Mussulmen*.

But besides, those who wish to know with what a veracious scrupulousness, with what a religious respect the Asiatics, their kings and their learned men preserve the memory of events and their chronological succession, need only read a very curious and decisive fact, transmitted us by *Masoudi*,

one of the most learned Arabian historians, who, about the years 930 or 940 of our era, travelled all over Persia, as far as the frontiers of India, and who, better than any writer of his nation, was acquainted with the books of the Greeks.*

"There exists (says he) between the opinion of the Persians and that of other nations, a great difference with respect to the epoch of Alexander: which many persons have not remarked. That is, one of the mysteries of the religion and policy of the Persians, which is known only to the most learned *Mobeds* and *Herbeds*, as we have seen ourselves in the province of Fars, in Kirman and in the other Persian provinces: no mention is made of it in any of the books composed on the history of Persia, or in any annals or chronicle. Here is wherein it consists: *Zerdoust*, son of *Poroschasp*, son of *Asinman*, in the book that was revealed to him, called *Abesta*, announces that the empire of the Persians shall undergo, in three hundred years, a great revolution, without the destruction of religion; but that after a thousand years, religion and the empire should be destroyed together. Now, between Zerdoust and Alexander are nearly three hundred years; for Zerdoust appeared in the time of *Kai Bistap*, son of *Kai Lohrasp*, as we have said already. *Ardechir*, son of *Babek*, seized on the empire, and

* Indicator and Monitor of Masoudi, extracted by M. de Sacy. Oriental Manuscripts, Vol. VIII. page 161.

all the countries depending on it, about 500 years after Alexander: we see there remained only about *two hundred* years, to complete the *thousand* years of that prophet. *Ardechir* wishing to add a hundred years to that space of time, because he apprehended that, when after him a hundred years should be elapsed, men would refuse to yield assistance and obedience to the king, from the conviction they would be in of the future destruction of the empire, conformably to the tradition circulated among them. To obviate this, he suppressed about half the time elapsed between Alexander and himself, and only mentioned a certain number of *Molouk-Taouâief (kings* of the Parthian *nations)* who filled up all that time; he retrenched the others: afterwards he took care to have it reported over all the empire, that he began his reign 260 years after Alexander; consequently, this epoch was admitted and spread abroad in the world: for this reason, there is a difference between the Persians and other nations, concerning the era of Alexander; and it is it which introduced confusion into the annals of the *Molouk-Taouâief.* Ardechir mentions this himself in the advice he left for his successors; and the Herbed (or Parsi priest), who became the apostle of that prince, with the governors of the provinces, speaks also of that prediction."

Now the reader may judge of the degree of confidence that oriental histories and chronicles merit. If this anecdote had been sooner known, it would

have spared a great many discussions and false reasonings. It is the more precious, as it resolves irresistibly the enormous abbreviation of time *officially* effected by almost all Asiatic writers, between the reigns of Alexander and Ardechir, and by exposing the superstition, bad faith and impudence of an entire administration, both laical and ecclesiastical, it proves to what a degree of ignorance the Persians were already arrived or reduced in the year 226, concerning the epoch of Zoroaster, since that indicated in Massoudi, and answering to the reign of Kyaxarès, is manifestly false, as shall be seen. But to proceed methodically in the discovery of the true epoch, we should begin by examining all that Orientalists tell us of that legislator, in order that their traditions, confronted with the accounts of the ancient Greeks and Romans, may conduct us to the highest degree of probability which this question can admit.

According to *Anquetil Duperron*,* the principal collection of the Parsis traditions concerning Zoroaster, is the book entitled *Zerdust-Namah*, which, we are told, was translated from the ancient *Pehlevi* idiom, into modern Persian, by *Zerdust-Behram*, a Parsis writer and priest, about the year 1275. Hyde had seen this book, and gives us the titles of the chapters: omitting the date, which is not ascertained, and supposing in the translator

* Zend-avesta, Vol. II. page 6. and following.

sufficient instruction, and especially a great fidelity in suppressing or adding nothing (of which there is no example), let us see what the Parsis tell us of their legislator.

§ II. *Parsis accounts of Zoroaster.*

According to them, "Zerdoust was born in Aderbidjan (ancient Media), and Aboulfeda adds, that according to several ancient authors, it was at *Ourmi:* his birth was attended with prodigies, the least extraordinary of which was to laugh on breathing for the first time. Pliny,* who mentions this circumstance, proves thereby that these traditions existed, at least in part, in his time. The childhood of Zerdoust was exposed to severe trials from the magicians, who are represented as being then all powerful with kings and people: this reign of the magicians, which reminds us of their enchantments before Pharaoh, of their services under Semiramis, really indicates a very remote epoch. The Parsis writers relate the most minute circumstances of these enchantments, as if they had assisted at them; but, on the other hand, their sterility in the really historical and geographical facts, proves that these legends were collected at a later period, and composed from popular tales, like all tales of the kind. At the age of thirty, Zoroaster

* Pliny, Book VII. chap. 16.

is called by the *God Ormusd*, in the same manner as Abraham and Moses were called by the God *Jehou*. He withdraws to a cave in a mountain, there to receive inspirations; but the Parsis have forgotten the curious circumstances of this cave, described by Eubulus, in Porphyry.* After a retreat (of twenty years, according to Pliny), Zoroaster, proclaims a new system of theology, which he pretends, like all those who play the same part, to be the only true one, the only one *revealed by God*. To establish his religion, he fixed on the country of *Balk (ancient Bactra)* the king of which *Kesh-tasp* he converted, who in turn endeavours to convert his subjects, and even the princes his neighbours, among others *Zâl* and *Roustam*, princes of *Persia proper:* Zoroaster, supported by them, erects *Atesh-gâh*, or *Temples of fire*, plants a *cypress*, and institutes a great pilgrimage, according to the custom of the times. An Indian Brahmin, on hearing of this new worship, came to refute him, and ended by becoming his proselyte. After eight years,† Kesht-asp, tributary to a king of *Tourân*, named *Ardjasp*,‡ who *possessed a great country to the west of the Caspian*, refuses the accustomed homage. War breaks out; *Ardjasp* comes to attack *Kesht-asp*, who would have been defeated without his son *Esfendiar*, whose chivalrous ex-

* *De Antro Nympharum.*

† Zend-avesta, Vol. II. page 54.

‡ Zend-avesta, Vol. II. page 55.

ploits decide the victory. *Kesht-asp*, as his recompense, shuts him up in a strong castle, and marches into Persia to convert the Paladins *Zâl* and *Roustam*. During his absence, *Ardjasp* is informed that the city of Balk was left without troops; that *Lohrasp*, the father of *Keshtasp*, lives there in a convent, *with his head shaved*, and practising mortifications, after the manner of the Indians; he hastens with a chosen army, surprises the country, assaults the city, and kills Lohrasp and the *priests of fire*, that is to say, the magi; Zoroaster perished then, according to the Mussulmen; but the Parsis are silent as to the manner of his death. Keshtasp arrives, is defeated, has recourse to his son, Esfendiar, who saves him a second time; and, as a second recompense, the father sends him against *Roustam*, who, after a perilous single combat, pierces him with an arrow. Such is summarily the life of Zoroaster, according to his disciples, who, as we see, mention nothing in their accounts that can be applied either to king *Darius*, the elected successor of *Cambyses*, and son of *Hystaspes*, a Persian of a private station, or to king *Xerxes*, son of *Darius*, whose history is so well known to us by the contemporary Greeks. This silence of the *Parsis* is so much the more extraordinary, as being the representatives, the direct descendants of the ancient Persians of Darius, they had more motives and means of knowing that monarch and his father, than the Mussulmen Per-

sians, for the most part intruders in the country. How then, and why, does it happen that Oriental writers, both Musselman and Christian, have considered Zoroaster as contemporary, some with Smerdis or Cambyses, as we read in Aboulfarage and Eutychius ;* others with the prophet Elijah, or Ezra, or Jeremiah, according to *El-Tabari*, *Abou-Mohammed?* † &c. Already these discordances, which surpass 100 or 150 years, prove their uncertainty and ignorance ; but before they admitted these narrations, filled with extravagant fables and gross anachronisms, it should have been an indispensable preliminary with *Hyde* and his imitators, to ascend to the sources of these opinions, and from author to author to arrive at a knowledge of the first who advanced them. What they have not done, let us endeavour to do, and prove, by an interesting example, how useful is this chronological study of opinions.

First, we find Agathias, who, about the year 560, wrote a history, in which he treats particularly of the Persians, and where we read the following passage, *page* 62 :—

" The Persians of our days have almost entirely neglected and quitted their ancient manners and customs, to adopt *foreign*, and, as it were, *bastard* institutions, towards which the doctrine of *Zoro-*

* Eutychius wrote about 930, and Aboulfarage about 1260.

† *See* Hyde, page 317, and following.

aster, the *Ormazdean*, inclined them. At what time did this Zoroaster, or *Zaradas*, flourish and publish his laws? This is not clearly ascertained. The present Persians say, merely, that he lived under *Hystasp*, without entering into any particulars; so that it remains doubtful, and entirely uncertain, if it was the father of Darius, or some other (king) *Hystasp*. In whatever time he flourished, he was author and chief of the religion of the Magi, by changing the ancient rites, and introducing (a mixture) of various and confused opinions. In fact, the Persians of *former times* adored *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, and the other gods of the Greeks, with this only difference, that they gave them other names: for with them, Jupiter was *Bel-us.*, Hercules was *Sand-és*, Venus was *Anais*, as is attested by Berosus, and other writers who treat of the Mede and Assyrian antiquities."

Thus, until the time of Agathias, the learned Persians did not say that the *Hyst-asp* of Zoroaster was our Darius, son of *Hystasp*; or the *Hystasp*, father of Darius: it was a matter *obscure* for them, as well as for the learned Greeks of Constantinople. Now, if Agathias, born an Asiatic, living as a lawyer at Smyrna, a man whose work announces a methodical and improved understanding; if Agathias, accustomed, as a lawyer, to the researches and discussions of *titles* and *origins*, considered the identity of these two *Hystasps*, as a very *doubtful* matter; this identity could not have that degree of certainty which later writers endeavour to attribute to it; and if others

before him had already admitted it, their opinion, which no doubt he examined, did not offer him convincing proofs. Thus he did not adopt the opinion of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, another historian of the lower empire, who cut short the question in the following passage of his history:—

"In former times, says this historian,* the art of magic made great progress by the knowledge the Bactrian Zoroaster had acquired among the Chaldeans, and after him (by the care and zeal) of the very learned king *Hystaspes*, father of Darius."

Most certainly Ammianus Marcellinus, by the freedom and love of truth that appear in his work, is an historian that merits our esteem; but having lived in camps, and being much more occupied about the history of the Germans and Goths than that of the Persians, he had not canvassed the fact he advances, and he adopted it confidentially from some preceding writer. But who is this preceding writer? and what authority can he have, when we see presently Pliny, in the year seventy of our era, professing the same doubt, and a more unlimited doubt than Agathias? Let us, however, follow the passage of Ammianus Marcellinus, which in other respects will be of use to us.

"This king (Hystasp) having penetrated with confidence into certain retired places of Upper In-

* Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXIII. He wrote about 380 or 390.

dia, arrived at some sequestered groves, whose silence favoured the profound meditations of the Brahmins. There he learned from them as much as it was possible for him—the pure rites of sacrifices, the causes of the motions of the stars, and of the universe, *a part of which* he afterwards *communicated* to the magi. The latter transmitted these secrets from father to son, with the science of predicting futurity; and it is since his (Hystasp's) time,* that in a long succession of ages, down to the present day, this multitude of magi, composing one and the same (cast), has been consecrated to the service of the temples and the worship of the gods."

This fact will be of use to us; but we ask of Ammianus, from what source, in what author has he taken the opinion that this *very learned king Hystasp*, contemporary with Zoroaster, was Hystasp, the father of Darius? Is it in the Parsis books?—we have them, and can find nothing of the kind in them. Is it from Herodotus?—we have him, and shall presently see the demonstration of the contrary. What analogy is there between the actions, or even the persons, of the two kings; Kestasp is, and Hystasp (father of Darius), never was king. It cannot be said that Darius was *Es-*

* The text says: *abeo* (Hystaspe) Anquetil translates: *and it is from these magi that came*, &c. Mem. Acad. des Inscriptions, Vol. XXXVII. page 718.

fendiar; and if it is pretended, that he himself was Kestasp, *Esfendiar*, son of the latter, has not the least analogy with Xerces, son of Darius. We may confidently pronounce—that all is contradictory, all absurd in this opinion; and whoever were its inventors, it is evident they were led astray by two circumstances:—

First. By the resemblance of a name, which appears to have been common among the Medes and Persians.

Second. By the resemblance of *Darius's* taste for the science of the magi, according to the testimonies of Herodotus, Cicero, and Porphyry, who have preserved the inscription engraved on his tomb by his order: *Darius, King*, &c. *Doctor of Magism.*

Herein consists the two-fold mistake, which, for the ancients as well as moderns, has been the first cause of an error, in which all those that have given it a little more attention and reflection have refused to participate.

Of the number is Pliny the naturalist, one of the most distinguished men of antiquity, by his understanding and prodigious information. After some very sensible observations on *magic*, and the foolish passion of the Romans in his time, for that art of imposture and deceit, Pliny gives us, at the commencement of his thirtieth book, a very important passage, which merits to be transcribed:—

"It is in the east (says he); it is in Persia, that

magic was, according to historians, invented by Zoroaster; but was there only one Zoroaster, or did there exist a second? *This is not clear.* Eudoxus, who wishes to persuade us that magic is one of the most useful and brilliant philosophical sects, pretends that Zoroaster lived 6000 years before the death of Plato (who died in the year 348 before Jesus Christ); this is also to be found in Aristotle. Hermippus, who has written a learned treatise on this art, and who translated *two millions* of verses, composed by Zoroaster, indicating the titles of each volume (where he found them), relates that his master was *Azonak*, or *Agonak*, and that he lived 5000 years before the war of Troy. But it is astonishing that the memory of the (inventor), and the art have been so long preserved, without intermediate means, and without any clear and continual succession (of instruction); for there is scarcely any one who ever heard talk of an *Apuscorus* and a *Zaratus*, Medes; of *Marmar*, and of *Arabantiphok*, a Babylonian; of *Tarmoenda*, an Assyrian, of whom no monument remains."

[After remarking that in Homer's Odyssey magic is continually practised, Pliny continues:]

"I find that the first who wrote upon this art is the Persian *Ostanes*, contemporary with Xerces, who spread not a taste, but a *rage* for it, all over Greece. They who have made deeper researches, place a little before him, another *Zoroaster* of Proconnesus. There is another sect of magicians,

having at their head *Moses* and the Jews, *Jamné* and *Jotapé*, but (only) several *thousand years* after Zoroaster," following the calculation of the six thousand years of Eudoxus.

Let us weigh certain expressions of this important passage:—

" It is in Persia that *magic* was invented by *Zoroaster*, according to historians."

According to Plato, Apuleus, Porphyry, Hesychius, Suidas, &c. and according to all the Pythagoricians, who, no doubt, got this tradition from their master, the Asiatic word *Magos*, or rather *Mag*, signified particularly a *man consecrated, devoted to the worship of God*, precisely as the Hebrew word *nazar-ean;* consequently, the word *magic* was at first the science or practice of that worship. It is in this sense that Plato says,* " the children of the kings of Persia, on attaining the age of fourteen, were confided to four instructors, the first of whom taught them *magic*, which is said to be, *the worship of the gods (religion.)* This same instructor taught them also *royal politics.*" In this sense likewise Zoroaster invented *the theology of the magi*, and established their cast, which became the *Nazarean* and Levitical cast of the country. But because the *science of the magi* consisted in astronomy and judiciary astrology, that is in predictions, divinations, and

* *Plato de Legibus*, page 441, edition of 1602.

prophecies attached to that art; that it consisted also in certain physical and chemical knowledge, by means of which they performed phenomena that were *prodigious* and *miraculous* for the mass of the people; this *science* gradually became an art of imposture and charlatanry, which received in its *bad sense* the name of *magic*, which we give it. In this respect, that is, as an art of *evocations*, of *enchantments*, of *metamorphoses* effected by certain practices, it is much more ancient than Zoroaster, as is very justly observed by the Persians, since it was the basis of the power and influence of the *Egyptian*, *Chaldean*, *Brahmin*, and *Druid* priests; in a word, of all the priests of antiquity. The name of *Kaldeans*, mentioned already in *Abram*'s time, as denoting an ancient nation, signifies *conjurer*, and proves the existence and practice of the art amongst a people which, as Ammianos Marcellinus says, was at first but a sect, and became afterwards, by its increase, a numerous and powerful nation. Now if, as is true, this sort of *magic* and *magicians* ascends to thousands of years, it must be by confounding it with *Zoroasterism*, that Eudoxus and Hermippus have put back its founder to five or six thousand years before Plato and the war of Troy. Diogenes Laertius gives a third account:—

"According to *Hermodorus* the Platonician (says he *in premio,*) from the magi, *of whom Zoroaster is said to have been the first chief* (princeps) to the war of Troy, there elapsed 5000 years."

Here is a difference of a thousand years with Eudoxus: remark that Hermodorus does not say from Zoroaster, but from the *magi;* so that some ambiguity must have caused this error, for it is certain that these five or six thousand years are beyond the limits of any known biography, and that Zoroaster, as we shall see, did not live more than eight centuries before Plato. Suidas appears to have changed these five *thousand* into five *hundred:* but the testimony of this monk of the ninth century is of little weight: he wished to maintain the Jewish epoch of the creation.

Now, since the founder of the magi is Zoroaster, author of the system of the *two principles*, or genii of good and evil (*Oromaze* and *Ahriman,*) so famous in Asia, it follows, First, that he alone is the man whose epoch we are looking for. Second, that wherever we find the name of his magi, or any of his tenets, that man must have already existed. But if, in Pliny's time, the epoch of Zoroaster was already *so little clear*, or so obscure, that it could not be determined, that alone proves the legislator of the Persians, Medes, and Bactrians not to have lived in the time of Darius; not to have been that magician of Proconnesus, who lived a little before Ostanes, and who had, or assumed, the name of *Zerdoust*, as several *Mobeds*, or Parsis priests have since assumed it, and bear it at the present day, in the same manner as some

celebrated Jews have borne that of Moses.* Facts contemporary with Darius and Xerces, were so well known to the Greeks, that it was impossible a religious schism, so extraordinary as Zoroaster's, should have been accomplished in Asia, without their hearing of it, and without its being mentioned by Herodotus, who was travelling there at the time.

Nevertheless, since, in the time of Pliny, there existed an uncertainty, a doubt concerning a second *Zoroaster, who, according to those who had made the deepest researches, lived a little before Ostanes* (and that may extend to sixty or eighty years), some fact must have given rise to this doubt, and some mage or magician, of the name of *Zardast* or *Zoroaster*, be comprised in some anecdote come to the knowledge of the Greeks. And in fact Apuleus, that great panegyrist of magic, in his absurd novel of the *Golden Ass*, written in Latin, eighty years after Pliny, supplies us with the following passage, entirely conformable with our observation :—

" *It is said* that Pythagoras, having been conducted (to Babylon) among the Egyptian prisoners of Cambyses, was instructed by the Persian magi, and particularly by *Zoroaster*, the first or principal depositary of all secret and divine sciences.†

* Witness, Rabbi *Moses* Maimonides.

† Apuleus, Lib. II. Jamblicus, who compiled the life of Pythagoras from a great many authors, about the year 320, repeats the same tradition.

This, *it is said*, announces a popular tradition which may ascend very high, as every thing concerning Pythagoras. *Prisoner of Cambyses* is a gross anachronism, since Pythagoras, born in 608, was eighty-four* when Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525; but the falsehood of the accessary does not destroy the principal fact.

This fact, that is, Pythagoras's voyage to Egypt, and thence to Babylon, is also found in Diogenes Laertius, who, twenty years after Apuleus, compiling also that philosopher's life, tells us that,

"From his infancy, passionately fond of learning, Pythagoras left his country, and travelled among various nations, where he was initiated into all the mysteries of the Greeks and *Barbarians* (strangers); that, among others, he went into Egypt, in the time of king Amasis, to whom Polycrates of Samos recommended him by letter, as we are told by *Antiphon;* that he afterwards visited the *Chaldeans* and the *Magi*, with whom he conferred, and that he finally passed into Crete, Samos, and Italy, where he settled, and founded his school, as is related by Hermiphus in the history of his life, and *Alexander* (Polyhistor) in his book of the succession of the philosophers."

Here the reign of Amasis may answer, because that prince reigned in the year 570, when Pytha-

* *See* Larcher's Chronology, year 608.

goras was about thirty-eight years of age; but Polycrates and his letter are inadmissible, because this tyrant of Samos only began to reign about 532, when Pythagoras was nearly seventy-six. When Antiphon adds, that Pythagoras, grieved at seeing Polycrates a tyrant, quitted Samos at the age of forty to settle in Italy, he surely confounds it with the departure for Egypt, when Pythagoras, after having already visited Greece, Thessaly, and Thrace, began his travels in Egypt and the East: the letter of Polycrates (placed between the years 532 and 523), Apocryphal, like those of Pisistratus and Solon, by falling in the reign of Cambyses, betrays the same source as the *it is said* of Apuleus: the only thing to be inferred from this tradition is, that Pythagoras, having really passed from Egypt into Chaldea, might confer there with some *mage doctor* of the name of Zerdast (*Zoroaster* in Greek) whom he might have named to his disciples, they, preserving it, might have confounded, or given room to confound it with the *legislator*. Clement of Alexandria has a passage which confirms this opinion.

" Pythagoras, says he,* went to Babylon, where he became a disciple of the magi: now Pythagoras shews (us) there *Zoroaster, a Persian mage*, whose books the Prodician heretics pretend they are pos-

* *Clemens Alexandrinus*, page 141. He wrote about the year 215.

sessed of. Alexander Polyhistor, in his book of the *Pythagorician symbols*, says that Pythagoras was disciple of the Assyrian *Nazaret*, whom some suppose to be Hezekiel; but this is not exact."

Less than sixty years after Clement, Porphyry borrowed from the same sources, when he wrote:—

"That Pythagoras was purified by *Zabratas*, or *Zaratas*, of the stains of his former life, and learned from him every thing concerning the nature and principles of the universe."

Zaratas is evidently the Parsis name of *Zerdust*: but, First, admitting that Pythagoras's master was a *Persian*, as Clement says, he is no longer the legislator, for we shall see the best authors unanimously attest that the latter was a *Mede*. Clement says so himself when, mentioning the philosphers who were addicted to divination, he names *Zoroaster the Mede*, with Abarès, Aristæas, Pythagoras, Empedocles, &c.

Second. If the mage *Zaratas* was a Persian, he must be posterior to Kyrus and the conquest of Babylon by that prince, in 538. But at that period Pythagoras was nearly seventy-two, which renders his journey improbable at that late date, and always brings us back to the fabulous tradition of the romancer Apuleus. A suspicion arises; considering that Jewish names are here introduced; that the mage *Zaratas* is thought by some to be *Hezekiel*, by others *Daniel*; that the Hebrew word *Nazaret* is a literal translation of the word

mag, betraying a Jewish origin: and that Alexander Polyhistor, who cites this word, has in general copied Eupolemus, who himself copied the Jews, whom he much frequented; are we not to believe that these are stories fabricated at Alexandria, by the Jews, in order to prove that all came from their source; and by the Pythagoricians, to prove that their master knew every thing.

On the other hand, the circumstance of the books *shewn* by the *Prodicians* does not prove the identity of the *mage* with the *legislator*. For, besides their being considered *Apocryphal* by Porphyry and Chrysostom, it is possible that some mage, entering on his functions at that time, composed some which became the prevailing ritual; and here we arrive at a point of history, which is, perhaps, the knot of the whole question.

After Cambyses, son of Kyrus, the mage Smerdis, as is known, usurped the throne by a substitution of person and name. Darius with the other conspirators having killed him, there ensued a general proscription of the *magi*, who were massacred over the whole empire, and the recollection of this massacre was preserved in an anniversary festival called *Magophony*: it is evident that after this massacre, the terrified tribe of magi was at the discretion of Darius, son of Hystasp. If, afterwards, this king was proved to be called a *mage doctor*, he found it therefore prudent to re-establish them; but though he re-established them, he

remained the master of their persons and property; he appointed their officers, the high-priest, the mobeds, &c.; he even must have introduced changes in their rites; and if it is he who, taking possession of a part of the Upper-Indus, as Herodotus says, had *conferences with the Brahmins*, as Ammianus Marcellinus informs us, he might have been the author of a modification which made an epoch in the Zoroasterian system: by a manner of proceeding similar to that of *Ardechir*, he altered, suppressed, substituted at will; then if, by a very plausible supposition, the high-priest appointed by him had, or assumed, the revered name of Zoroaster, we shall have at once the *Zaratus* of Pliny, the *Zabratas* of Porphyry, and the *Zerdoust*, to whom the oracle cited in the time of *Ardechir* belongs; at all events, it is certain that this oracle is *Apocryphal*,* full of contradictions, and cannot

* *Apocryphal:* about the time assigned to this prophecy, the Chaldean priests shewed that of Nebuchadnezzar, announcing the destruction of his empire (*see* Megasthenes): the Jewish priests presented to Kyrus a prophecy of Isaiah, announcing his elevation with his *own name;* unluckily, we have not the manuscript of Isaiah: encouraged by these examples, the high-priest Jaddus showed also to the conqueror Alexander his arrival predicted; in fine, the book of Daniel also foretold *(after Antiochus)*, the four monarchies, one of which was that of the Romans. These were the ages of *prophecies:* the epochs of revolutions are paroxysms of superstition. Besides, the account of Masoudi (or rather of the *Parsis*, his authors), is full of contradictions. *There is*, says he, *between Zerdoust and Alexander about 300 years, because Zerdoust appeared in the time of Kai-Bistasp*, (Darius Hystasp): but between Darius, elected king in 520, and Alexander, king of

agree with the legislator, as shall be seen. Now, as it is certain that the Mussulmen, born only after

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Asia, in 327, there are only 193 years, and an *about* of 107 years cannot be admitted. From Alexander, who died in 324 before Jesus Christ, to Ardechir, king in 223 after Jesus Christ, there are 550 years, and Masoudi reckons *about* 500; another too considerable error. Besides, his calculation of the prophecy is unintelligible. *The empire shall perish at the end of* 300 *years: religion, with the empire, at the end of* 1000. Is it 1300 in all, or only 1000? He adopts the latter opinion. But if, in the time of Ardechir, there were 800 years elapsed, the 100 he wished to add to the remaining 200 made 1100, and yet, deducting 300 years (minus 10) as he did, he increased by nearly 500 years! Now these 500, added to the 800 which were said to be elapsed, make 1300. The prophecy, therefore, was not a total of 1000 years, as Masoudi says, but of 1000 *plus* 300. Moreover, if Zerdoust appeared, as he likewise says, 300 years before Alexander, it must have been in 630, in the time of Kyaxar, king of the Medes, and of Jeremiah, among the Hebrews. Here Masoudi, in contradiction with himself, is of the number of his countrymen who make Zerdoust the disciple of Jeremiah, deceived, perhaps, by the ambiguity of the prophet's name, with that of *Urmih*, the native city of Zoroaster. This calculation favours the hypothesis of an academician (Abbé Foucher), who, in a learned Memoir (Vol. XXVII. of Inscriptions), attempted to prove that Zoroaster, the legislator, appeared in the time of Kyaxares; but we shall soon see that this system is full of incoherences. May not this anecdote of *Ardechir*, while it gives us a just idea of the ignorance and impudence of the *Asiatic governors*, give us also the key of another enigma of the same nature? to wit, why the Greek text reckons from the creation of the world to our era - - - - - - - - 5508 years,
while the Hebrew text reckons only - - - 3760

Difference - - 1748

If, as is the fact, it was a general opinion in Lower Asia, a hundred years before and after our era, *that the world was about to end*; if, as is the fact, this opinion had its source in the theology of Zoroaster, who says that the world, governed by Ormuzd, after having lasted 6000

the year 622 of our era, could have only received from the Jewish Rabbins, all their fables concerning the pretended education of Zoroaster by Elija, by Ezra, by *Jeremiah*, by *Ezekiel*, it becomes extremely probable, as has been already said, that these amalgamations of the names of Pythagoras, Zaratas-Zoroaster and, *Nazaret*, (supposed to be Ezekiel,) have been made at Alexandria, under the reign of the Ptolomies, when the Pythagoricians and Jews confronted and blended their traditions, reasonings, and explanations, without much criticism, especially in chronology. Of all this there only remains as historical facts:

First, That Pythagoras came and resided at Babylon between the years 569 and 550, and might

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years, is to be supplanted and destroyed by Ahriman, who reigns *six thousand* more, (total, 12,000, that is, the twelve months of the great *circle* of the year, called *mundus*, the Sanscrit *manda*); may it not be supposed that the Jews, imbued with Persian opinions, were and ought to be alarmed at seeing near at hand the end of the sixth thousand, reckoning according to Genesis; that then the prudence of their synagogue suggested the necessity of a suppression, which, like that of Ardechir, might retard *the epoch of fate*; and that this operation having been only effected after the translation and publication of the Greek text, it could only act on the pure Hebrew, and might especially have taken place at a time when it would embarrass the new sect of Christians, who only made use of the Greek text? All this is so very Asiatic and Jewish, that it may be looked on as true. Let us add that these *five* and *six* thousand of Zoroaster, which were only months, or signs of the zodiac Chaldaically divided into a *thousand parts*, mistaken afterwards for years, must be the true text upon which Hermippus and Eudoxus have built their *five* and *six thousand years*: and this is ancient history!

have conversed there with the magi and Jews, as well as with the Chaldean priests;

Secondly, That the name of *Zoroaster* or *Zardust*, as common among the Persians* as that of *Mohammed* among the Arabians, and Moses among the Jews, has produced a confusion of persons, times, and actions, which has led astray a multitude of writers.

After canvassing all these errors, we must, to arrive at a knowledge of the real epoch of *Zoroaster*, son of *Pourouchasp*, address ourselves to the oldest historians, and on that account first interrogate Herodotus.

It has been long ago remarked that his book no where mentions Zoroaster's name; and this silence has always been a very strong objection against those who pretend that this prophet, more celebrated in Asia than the Hebrew Moses, was contemporary with Darius, son of Hystaspes. In fact,

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* Clement of Alexandria gives us an additional proof of it. "*Plato*, (says he) mentions one *Er* (or Her), son of *Armenius*, a Pamphilian by birth, who is *Zoroaster;* for he writes these words. . . . Here is what is written by Zoroaster, son of Armenius, a Pamphilian by birth; having been killed in battle, I descended into hell (or the inferior heavens), and the gods told me what I am going to relate."

It is evident that this Her received, or assumed, the name of *Zoroaster*, and that he was one of those impostors who abounded in Asia about the times of *Darius* and *Ostanes*. His vision related by Plato, in the tenth book of his Republic, is however curious, because it shews us Zoroastrian ideas of another world, which are borrowed almost literally by the Mussulmen and Christians.

how can it be conceived that Zoroaster should accomplish, in the vast empire of that prince, a schism as remarkable as that of Luther in Europe; and that Herodotus, who visited Asia nearly about that time, and who gives us a particular account of Darius's life, should not say one word of a man and an event so extraordinary. This first negative argument, already so powerful, is further confirmed by a second, positive and conclusive one.—All the ancients agree in stating that Zoroaster was the author and founder of magism and magic, that is to say, of the philosophical sect of the *magi*. Now the name of the magi occurs frequently in Herodotus, and with circumstances rich in inductions.

"The magi (says that historian), are very different from other men, and particularly from the *Egyptian priests;* the latter do not pollute their hands with the blood of animals, and put to death only those they sacrifice: the magi, on the contrary, slay with their own hands every animal, except man and the dog; they even pride themselves on killing ants, serpents, and all reptiles and fowl."*

Here are most certainly the Zoroastrian magi, defined by their rites, and even by their comparison, as a *sacerdotal order*, with the Egyptian priests. And already *these magi are very ancient*, since Herodotus adds: "But leaving these customs

* Herodotus, Lib. I°. § CXL.

as they were *originally* established." The word *originally* alone carries us back several centuries: this is not all; the Median king, Astyag, having had a first dream, consults * *those of the magi whose profession it was to explain them:* the magi were therefore *conjurers*, *prophets*, consequently the priests of the Medes, before the time of Kyrus.

A second dream alarms Astyag: he summons the *same magi*, and their answer is still more instructive on the present question.†

Sire, (said they to the *Median king)* the stability and prosperity of your reign are to us of the greatest importance: for if the sovereign power was transferred to the hands of Kyrus, who is a *Persian*, it would appertain to another *nation, and the Persians, who look on us as strangers*, would have no consideration for us, who are *Medes;* they would *treat us as slaves;* whereas you, sire, who are our *countryman*, as long as you fill the throne, will heap favours on us, &c. ‡

Therefore the magi were *Medes* by birth, and not *Persians.* Therefore Zoroaster was not born a

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* Lib. I°. p. 88, § CVII.

† *Ibid.* p. 99, § CXX.

‡ On reading Herodotus over again, we find two other facts no less conclusive: Book III. § LXV. Cambyses dying, conjures the Persians not to suffer the mage, *Smerdis*, to seize on the throne, and the empire to return to the *Medes* through his imposture: and *ibid.* § LXXIII. The Persian Gobrya, haranguing the conspirators, says to them, " what a shame for *Persians* to obey a *Mede*, a *Mage!*"

Persian, as was generally supposed, but a *Mede*, according to the report of the Parsis.

This agreement between them and our author, by proving the accuracy of his information, puts the facts out of all doubt. These words: "*The Persians would treat us as strangers.*" (And among the ancients, the stranger, *hostis*, was the enemy). "If they were masters, *they would treat us as slaves.*" This plainly indicates that the Persians had a different religion from the Medes; in fact, the very detailed account given of it by Herodotus,* by no means answers *Zoroasterism*; the punishment that Kyrus wanted to inflict on Kresus, would be the most impious sacrilege in that worship, which, above all things, forbids *polluting* the fire, by throwing into it bodies, whether dead or alive. Thus, in Herodotus, every thing indicates, every thing proves, that Zoroaster was not a Persian; that he did not live in the time of *Darius*, and that his religion, originally *Median*, was not introduced among the Persians, until, from political motives, Kyrus made his savage countrymen adopt the entire system of the customs, manners, laws, and government, of the effeminate and civilized Medes.

After Herodotus, or rather before him, the first known Greek writer who pronounced the name of *Zoroaster* is not Plato, as has sometimes been as-

* § CXXXI.

serted, but *Xanthus* of *Lydia*, who, under the reign of *Darius*, published, in four books, a history of his country, very much esteemed, and often cited by the ancients. Herodotus, who did not publish his till nearly forty years later, made great use of it, as Plutarch says; and this is commendable in him, because, in matter of fact, the best method is to borrow the language of the first witness, or relater, when he is known to be faithful. Now the historian Xanthus, according to Diogenes Laertius,* calculated that from *Zoroaster, chief of the magi, until the arrival of Xerxes in Greece*, there had elapsed 600 years; that is to say, Zoroaster flourished 1080 years before our era, which is already an antiquity beyond the reach of the Greek chronologies; but this passage of Xanthus is not the only one of that author which has been preserved. *Nicolas of Damascus*, who lived in the time of *Augustus*, has transmitted us ten pages in quarto, of curious details concerning the kings of Lydia, and he could only have found them in Xanthus.† Among these details is the anecdote of Kresus's funeral pile, where the name of *Zoroaster* also occurs. The historian says in purport:—

"Kyrus was grieved for the treatment preparing for Kresus; but the Persian (soldiers) insisted on that prince's being condemned to the flames, and

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* In Proœmia.

† *Valesii Excerpta*, from page 460 to 451

they eagerly prepared an immense funeral pile, on which they placed with him fourteen of the principal lords of his court. Kyrus, in order to dissuade them, made them read an oracle of the sibyl; they insisted it was a forgery, and set fire to the pile. Then burst forth on all sides the moans of the Lydians. However, a storm which had drawn near (during the long preparations), began to thunder. The clouds increase and cover the heavens. Kresus seeing this assistance from Apollo, implores the protection of the Deity to whom he had made so many gifts; the lightning augments, the thunder rolls, the rain falls in torrents. The soldiers no longer remain in the ranks; the horses, affrighted at the thunder and lightning, increase the confusion. Then a (religious) terror possesses the *Persians*. They call to mind the oracle of the sibyl and those of *Zoroaster:* they cry out from every quarter that Kresus must be saved; and it is on this occasion that the Persians made it a law, *conformably to the oracles of Zoroaster*, that corpses should no longer be burnt, nor should the fire be polluted by them, which having been already ordained by *ancient institutions*, was then re-established and confirmed."

In this account we see, first, that at this period the Persians had not adopted the religion of Zoroaster, and this is indicated by Herodotus; secondly, that by calling the worship of fire, which characterizes that religion on *ancient institutions*, the antiquity of Zoroaster is equally expressed. As to

the existence of *these institutions* formerly amongst them, it is probable that, under the empire of the Assyrians and Medes, some tribes, some families imitated the religion of their neighbours and masters, as happened to the Jews, among whom, in the time of Ahab, the Assyrian rites were introduced. But the mass of the nation was not Zoroastrian: the obstinacy of the Persian soldiers to burn Kresus, that is, to make a sacrifice after the manner of the Phenicians, Indians, and Kelts, is a complete demonstration of it: we are, therefore, to consider as a positive fact, this observation of Xanthus, *that it was the marvellous incident of Kresus's funeral pile being extinguished by the storm, which effected the conversion of the Persians to Zoroasterism*, in the same manner as the victory of Tolbiac converted to Christianity the Franks of Clovis.*

From all that precedes, it results that, even in the time of Xanthus and Herodotus, that is, nearly 500 years before our era, the epoch of Zoroaster was already enveloped in the clouds of antiquity. We do not insist on the 600 years assigned by Xanthus, because this date is attended with no proof, and the learned Atheneus calls the quotation in question; but we have a right to conclude from it, that if at the time ideas were no clearer concern-

* Xanthus, at the beginning of his article, observes that Kyrus had been *instructed in the doctrine of the magi*; therefore he was not born in it; he caressed them to make partisans among the Medes.

ing this fact than concerning the war of Troy and the epoch of Homer, it is not surprising they are become obscurer in succeeding ages, and especially in the first centuries of our era, when writers in general were more ignorant, and nevertheless bolder in their decisions.

Let us see if, continuing our researches, we shall succeed in discovering some positive testimony concerning the epoch of Zoroaster.

We should expect to find it in Ktesias; but his extracts in Photius and Diodorus do not mention his name, and we do not know if we are to attribute to him what in another place Diodorus says of *Zathraustes*, inventor of the *dogma of the good genius* among the Arimasps; however, it is true that the dogma answers, and that the name of *Zathraustes* sufficiently corresponds with *Zeretastré*, which, according to Anquetil, must have been the Zend name of Zoroaster.

After Ktesias, the Chaldean Berosus had most means of clearing up the question; but, whether from enmity of sect, or for want of opportunity, his fragments tell us nothing. We must descend to the time of Pompey to find a phrase rich in instruction, notwithstanding its brevity: we are indebted for it to Justin,* the abbreviator of *Trogus*, who accompanied the Roman general into Asia.

" Ninus, (says he) having subdued all the east,

* Lib. I°. cap. I°.

had a final war with Zoroaster, *king of the Bactrians*, who is said to have first *invented* the practices of the magi, and deeply studied the motions of the stars and the moving principles of the universe. Ninus having put him to death, died himself, and left his throne to his wife Semiramis, and to his son Ninyas, not yet of age."*

This passage is the more precious, as its author, *Trogus*, had travelled in Media and Assyria in the retinue of Pompey, and might there have consulted the monuments and traditions of the country. *Zoroaster, king of Bactriana*, is a circumstance disavowed by the Parsis, and contradicted by Ktesias, who says that the king of Bactriana, attacked by Ninus, was called *Oxuartès:* this name, it is true, appears to be generic, since, on being decomposed, it signifies *king of the Oxus*. But, besides the coincidence of this circumstance with the Parsis account, even supposing the proper name of that king to have been *Kestasp*, this war of a foreign prince against Bactriana, the important and almost royal part that Zoroaster acts in it, his death, which happened there, according to most modern Orientalists, are so many accessories which, by their resemblance, confirm the fundamental fact; to wit, that *Zoroaster lived in the*

* What Augustin, *de Civitate Dei*, lib. XXI°., cap. XIV.; what Orosus, lib. I°. cap. IV. in the fifth century; and what Arnobius, lib. I°. in the third century, say of Zoroaster and Ninus, is only a repetition of this passage.

time of Ninus; and when it is considered that no Greek chronicle can uninterruptedly ascend to the time of Homer and Lycurgus; that already in the age of Alexander, ideas were obscure concerning Pythagoras, Thalès, and Solon; it will be easily imagined that Herodotus and Xanthus were embarrassed about the epoch infinitely more remote of Zoroaster.

To the testimony of Trogus may be added that of *Kephalion* (about the year 115 of our era), whose profound and varied researches in chronology are frequently mentioned by Eusebius and Syncellus. The latter has preserved a circumstance, which may very well find a place here.

Formerly, according to Kephalion, reigned the Assyrians, who were commanded by Ninus. Afterwards this illustrious author adds the birth of Semiramis and of the mage Zoroaster; he surveys Ninus's reign of fifty-two years, &c.*

Here then we have again Zoroaster, contemporary with Ninus, having lived in the time of his wife Semiramis: and Kephalion does not stop there; for the Armenian *Moses of Chorene*, who had his work in his possession, censures him *for placing immediately after the accession of Semiramis, the war which that queen did not carry on against Zoroaster till after her return from India, and for*

* Syncellus, page 167.

saying that Zoroaster was discomfited in it, whereas it was she who perished.

Moses of Chorene's book not having been published before 1736, the chronologists who preceded that date were deprived of this important quotation; and as the whole fragment contains precious and decisive details concerning the question we are treating, the reader will see them with so much the more pleasure, as this book is very uncommon.

After relating, conformably to the Kaldean book of Alexander, the mythological wars of Haik and Belus, Moses of Chorene comes to the really historical wars, and his transition is marked by some observations the purport of which deserves to be set down.

" As to the numerous conquests, says he, which distinguished the reign of Aram, the principal founder of our state, if they are not found in the public archives of the temples, or of the kings, it is no reason for doubting of them; for besides their having preceded the epoch of Ninûs, and happened in times when it was thought unnecessary to write what occurred in the country and among foreigners, Mar-Ibas informs us further, that these accounts were drawn up by anonymous persons, whose memoirs were joined to the royal archives, and he adds, that if the memory of many things has been lost, *it is because Ninus, swoln with*

pride, and ambitious of celebrity, burned many books and histories of the times that preceded him, in order that he and his reign should alone be spoken of.*†

"But Aram left a son called *Araï*,‡ who, having succeeded him shortly before the death of Ninus, obtained from that monarch the same favor that had been granted his father, (that of being confirmed in his principality in the quality of a vassal, of wearing a wreath ornamented with pearls, and of being the second person in the empire.")§

Moses of Chorene then relates how, after the death of Ninus, Semiramis, enamoured of Araï's beauty, wished to have him for her lover, and even for her husband. The Armenian prince having refused, the queen made war upon him, and defeated his army in the plain, which *then received the name of Ararat:* the body of Araï, killed in the battle, fell into the hands of Semiramis, who, at first, to tranquilize the Armenians, spread the report that her gods and *magicians* (or prophets) had resuscitated him to satisfy her desires; afterwards she attacked all the country and subdued it. The historian adds, that, charmed with the beauty

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* Chap. xiii. page 40.

† *Erostratus* burnt also the temple of Ephesus, that men might *speak* of him. Between Erostratus and Ninus, what difference is there?

‡ Chap. xiv.

§ *Ibid.* page 37.

of the climate much more temperate than that of Nineveh, this queen built a city, a palace, and delightful gardens near the lake *Vanck;* (and in fact, ancient philosophers place in this situation *Semiramo Kerta*, the city of Semiramis). Moses describes the general aspect of the country, the particular scite of the place, the variegated dispositions of its hills, valleys, and meadows, &c. its streams of sweet and running waters, and the expensive causeway erected to form a charming lake; he specifies both the number of labourers employed in the works, (forty-two thousand,) and the constructions, the distributions, and the kinds of ornaments, with such circumstancial details that they prove the Kaldean book of Alexander to have been composed from official documents.*

Moses of Chorene continues:—"When Semiramis had constructed this delicious habitation, she was accustomed to go and spend the summer there. She confided the government of Nineveh and Assyria *to the mage Zerdoust,*† *prince of the Medes;*

* A proof that Moses has not composed a novel, is, that having shewn his description to M. Amedeus Jaubert, now Auditor in the Council of State, who travelled in that country, he assured us, at the second page, that he perfectly recognized the environs of lake *Vank*, and particularly the spot called *Arnes*, a dangerous place on account of the robbers who there conceal themselves in the holes of a ruin whose form retraces an old dyke.

† The Latin translation has *Zoroaster*, after the manner of the Greeks; but the text says *Zerdoust*, after the manner of the Parsis. Translators should never allow themselves these alterations of proper

and finally even left him the administration of the whole empire. The dissolute life she had led, having drawn on her reproaches from the children of Ninus, she put them all to death, except Ninyas; but afterwards Zerdoust betrayed her confidence, and as he aspired at independence, Semiramis carried on against him a war, which becoming very serious, compelled her to fly before him into Armenia, where her son Ninyas had her put to death. This, adds Moses of Chorene, reminds me of Kephalion's account, *who, like many others*, places after the accession of Semiramis to the throne, first, her war against Zoroaster, in which war he pretends she was victorious, and, next, her expedition to India. But I look on as much more certain what Mar-Ibas relates, from the *Chaldean books;* for he explains, with order and precision, the events and causes of this war; and this learned Syrian has in his favour our popular traditions, which, relating the death of Semiramis, say in their songs, that the queen was obliged to run away on foot; that, parched with thirst, she demanded a little water, of which she drank, and that seeing the soldiers approach, she threw her neck-lace into the *sea*,*

names: they sometimes give rise to important errors; for instance, this same translation renders, in the 97th page, the country of *Klesoi* by *Cœlesyria*, whilst it is the *Akilis-ere* of Strabo. With these interpretations, a number of errors and difficulties have been introduced into ancient history.

* The Armenians, like the Arabians, call by the same word every great expanse of water: this sea is the lake *Vank*. In Egypt, the

whence comes the proverb: *To throw Semiramis's jewels into the water.*"

After such exact details, proceeding from so authentic a source, there can remain no doubt concerning the epoch of Zoroaster; and if we compare the various facts furnished us, as well by the Parsis as by the Greek historians, and by the Kaldean Book of Alexander, we can trace of that legislator's life a more probable account than any that has yet been written.

§ III. *Life of Zoroaster.*

According to Herodotus, and according to the Parsis, Zoroaster was born a *Mede*. They who thought he was a *Bactrian*, were led into error by the theatre of his mission; as were those who thought him a *Persian*, by the predominance of the nation which most contributed to propagate his religion. At the epoch of his mission, between the years 1220 and 1200, the immense territory, which since composed the empire of the Persians, was divided amongst several independent and hostile nations.

First. The *Medes*, composed of six nations or

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river is called *Bahr*, as well as the ocean itself. All this account of Moses is remarkable, because, when confronted with that of Ktesias, we find that the Greek has given us the commencement of Semiramis's history, and the Armenian, the catastrophe; both perfectly agreeing as to character. And Moses appears to have known Ktesias only through Diodorus.

tribes,* possessed the country now called *Aderbidjan*, *Djebâl*, and *Irâq-Adjami*, bounded on the north by the river *Araxes*, on the south by the chain of the *Elymean* mountains, at present *Louristan*, and on the east by that of the ancient *Zagros*, bordering on the Assyrian plains of the Tigris.

Second. The Persian nation, composed of a great number of tribes, eleven of which are named in Herodotus, some sedentary, addicted to tillage; others wandering, feeding flocks; all savage and warlike: this nation extended from the Elymean mountains on the north, to the Persian Gulf on the west and south.

Third. The present *Khorasan* was inhabited by the *Bactrians*, another race, partly agricultural, partly errant, which appears to be of Scythian origin, and which formed a powerful and very anciently civilized state.

Fourth. The *Mazanderan* and *Ghilan* were inhabited by other independent nations, represented as ferocious, such as the *Marsi*, the Gelæ, and the Caddusii, who possessed the mountains as far as lake *Ourmi*.

Five. In fine, *Kurdistan* proper, whence the

* Herodotus, Lib. I°. § ci. names the *Busi*, the *Paretakeni*, the *Struchates*, the *Arizanti*, the *Boudini*, and the *Magoi* (Magi.)

Tigris and Zâb take their rise, with the country of *Sennaar* or *Sindjar*, was the patrimony of the Assyrians divided into tribes, one of which, that of the *Chaldeans*, played amongst them the same sacerdotal part as the Levites among the Hebrews, the Brahmins among the Indians, and the magi among the Medes. Ninus was the first who subjected all these nations to the same yoke, and who composed with them a political body, whose parts were gradually amalgamated and identified by time. Since that conqueror, the country included between the *Tigris* and *Indus* having almost constantly formed one empire, under the influence of the same authority and the same language, this habitual union, by effacing the ancient state of things, has made oriental writers commit a number of geographical errors; and as they no longer understood the true sense of ancient descriptions, they made vicious interpretations of names, and have finally totally disfigured history. For instance, the word *Air-an* * meant at first only *Media* proper, called *Aria* in Herodotus, *Eriané* in the Parsis books; but afterwards, and probably under the Median kings, this name having been extended to

* Pronounced Irâne or Erâne: *an* is the termination, like *us* in Latin, and *os* in Greek. Air-an. The Armenian Moses observes, that Arioï signifies (fortes) the *brave*, a word analogous to *virtus (firtus)* and to *vir*, which in Sanscrit have the same meaning as in Latin.

the whole empire, its inhabitants no longer knew to whom the name of *Tour-an* belonged; and because they found *Tourk-estan* to the east of the Caspian sea, they placed there the kingdom of *Tour*, which was really to the west, and consisted of all the mountainous country of *Taur-us*,* and especially of the *Atouria* of the Greeks, that is to say, the ancient division was the *plain (Aïr-an)*, and the mountain *(Tour-an)*: also Persian writers have preserved accidentally, and as it were reluctantly, this circumstance, that *some possessions of Ardjasp were to the west of the Caspian;* so were they all, in as much as *Ardjasp, king of Touran*, was no other than *Ninus*, king of *Atouria* and all *Taurus*. When this prince had subdued all Media, and crucified its king *Pharnus*, the Mede, Zoroaster, might have had reasons for quitting his country, treated with the cruelty that characterizes ancient times. Perhaps it was at this period, and on this occasion, that he took shelter in the *cave* described by Porphyry, according to Eubulus; (he must, according to our calculations, have been then thirty or thirty-one years of age.)

"We read in Eubulus that Zoroaster was the first who, having chosen in the mountains near Persia a cavern agreeably situated, consecrated it

* *Tour* and *Taur* are written with the same Arabian letters, and in the derivations of the Phenician and Chaldean *Tour* and *Isour* are the general name for mountains.

to *Mithra*, creator and father of all things; that is to say, he distributed this cave into geometrical divisions, representing climates and elements, and imitated in part the order and arrangement of the universe by Mithra. From hence came the custom of consecrating caves to the celebration of mysteries, and hence the idea of Pythagoras and Plato, of calling the world *a cave, a cavern. (Porphyrus, de antro Nympharum.")*

That is to say, Zoroaster composed a great armillary sphere in relievo, in order to study more conveniently the motions of the stars, and to know the mechanism of the world, as Justin says:—

"It was after this model that the Persians, according to Celsus,* represented in the ceremonies of Mithra, the double motion of the fixed stars and planets, with the passage of souls in the celestial circles or spheres. To denote the properties or attributes of the planets, they shewed a ladder along which were seven gates, and afterwards an eighth at the upper extremity. The first, in lead, marked *Saturn;* the second, in tin, *Venus;* the third, in copper, *Jupiter;* the fourth, in iron, *Mars;* the fifth, in various metals, *Mercury;* the sixth, in silver, the *Moon;* the seventh, in gold, the *Sun;* (afterwards the Empyreal heaven.")

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* *See* Origen against Celsus, Lib. VI.; Life of Zoroaster, page 28; Zend-avesta, Vol. II.

Undoubtedly this is the ladder in Jacob's dream; but all these Egyptian and Chaldean ideas and allegories having existed many ages before Abraham and Jacob, nothing can be concluded from them for or against the priority of Genesis, with respect to Zoroaster.

This precious fragment proves that the theology of this chief of a sect, like that of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, and of all the ancients in general, was, as we learn from Plutarch and Cheremon, nothing *but the study of nature, and of its acting principles in celestial and terrestrial bodies:* if, as Pliny says, Zoroaster spent *twenty years* in this grotto, and if he entered it at the age of thirty, as the Parsis say, he must have arrived in Bactriana about fifty years of age, and this date agrees with the second attack of Ninus; but, as we have said, it is scarce possible to depend on the accuracy of these data. The choice he made of that country can be well accounted for by the aversion he must have had for Ninus, and by the passion for novelty, which Ammianius and Lactantius attribute to the king of Bactriana. This country, extremely fertile, formed at that time a powerful kingdom, which, by its advantageous position, contiguous to India, to the Caspian sea, and to all the north of Asia, was the natural centre of that ancient trade, of which Pliny says that *formerly the merchandize of India ascended by the river Indus*, were transported to the Oxus, and thence by the Caspian to

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all the north of Europe and Asia. The gold of the mines of Siberia came to be exchanged there for the produce of India and of Western Asia; and this is the reason of the great abundance of that metal, till the time of Herodotus, among the *Massagetæ* and Bactrians. This state of opulence, which must have excited the cupidity of Ninus, was probably also of some weight with the ambitious Zoroaster.

The monkish life of *Hystasp's* father, his shaved head, his abstinence, his mortifications, are an exact copy of the practices of the Brahmins and of several kings mentioned in the book *Oupnekhat* at the same epoch.* The account given us in the Persian books of the multitude and power of the *conjurers* or *magicians* of those times, and of the *miracles* operated by them and Zoroaster, though it be only an oriental story in its circumstances, is not fundamentally an absolute fable. It coincides with what we read in Hebrew books of the Egyptian enchanters, of their miracles, and of those of Moses in presence of Pharaoh, two centuries before Zoroaster. This was the reign of what was

* The original of the *Oupnekhat*, so whimsically translated or rather disfigured by Anquetil, is fully recognised for one of the most authentic books after the Vedas; it existed at least 1200 years before Jesus Christ.

since called *magic*, or the art of working *prodigies*, and these prodigies were not all mere fables or illusions.

In the midst of an agricultural people, composed of rude peasants and ferocious warriors, arose corporations of studious men, professionally addicted to the observation of the stars, and of the celestial influences which regulate the harvest. Soon they were enabled to foretell *eclipses*, that solemn phenomenon, which makes so profound an impression on the multitude; thenceforth, called with justice, *foretellers*, *prophets*, *conjurers*, these men were considered as the confidants of the celestial intelligences. Chance at first, afterwards well-concerted experiments, having made them discover singular operations in physics and chemistry, they artfully made use of them to augment their credit; voices were heard where there were no mouths, and objects seen where the hand could feel no bodies; they lighted spontaneous fires, by pyrophores and phosphorus; in a word, they operated illusions of phantasmagory, optics, and acoustics, which at this day, though divulged and known, still produce surprise; and they were looked on as *ministers* of the *divinity:* and because these secrets, covered in deep mystery, were only possessed by certain families, who derived from them their existence and power, they could be transmitted, preserved and lost with their depositaries, and the multitude never find out the artifice. Thus, we are told, that Zo-

roaster poured on his body melted brass, to convince Kestasp: and in our own times, we have seen a Spaniard sprinkle himself with boiling oil. The limits of these prodigies are not so easily traced as may be at first supposed; we have already seen that the name of *Kaldeans*, *Kasd*, properly signifies *conjurers;* it appears that it was principally with them that Zoroaster had to contend. The anecdote of the Brahmin *Tchengregatchah*, who came from India to refute him, proves to us, on the other hand, the already ancient existence of *Brahmism;* consequently, the Trinitarian dogma of the Vedas preceded the *dualism* of Zoroaster: and Clearchus, cited by Diogenes Laertius *(in Præmio)*, was not well informed, when he says that the *Gymnosophists were derived from the magi;* this is inexact, even with respect to the *Boudhists:* but they were in the right, who, according to the same Diogenes, asserted that the philosophy of the Jews came from that of the magi; for it is most certain that, after the captivity of Babylon, it was from that source the Jews borrowed all that we find in their books concerning the *God of light* (Ormusd), the *enemy of Satan*, or *Ahrimanes*, the angels, *the resurrection in body and in soul*, &c., all Zoroasterian tenets, a single trace of which occurs neither in the books of Solomon, of David, nor in the laws of Moses: the only analogy which exists between the theology of the latter and that of Zoroaster, is, first, to have pro-

scribed all images of the divinity, *all worship of idols*, which prepared the way for the re-union of their followers, and determined their schism with the *Sabians, or idolaters;* secondly, on Moses's part, to have represented *God* by *fire*, while the Mede represents him by *light;* which, in both cases, belongs to the much more ancient opinion, *that the element of fire was the principle of all motion, of all life, the incorruptible source of all existence;* also the name *Jehou*, given by Moses to this principle, signifies in reality *existence* and *what is* (Ego *sum* qui *sum)*, and this in the Sanscrit idiom as well as in Hebrew: the *Jou (piter)*, or *Pater* of the ancient Greeks and Pelasgi, whose worship existed long before Abraham, proves that this Indian and *Egyptian* doctrine is of the most remote antiquity. In this point of view the learned Aristotle was right, when he asserted that *Jou* was *Oramaze*, and Pluto *Ahriman.** All this indicates that most of Zoroaster's dogmas existed already before him, and that, like almost all innovators, he made only a new combination (as Mahomet did). It does not enter into the province of chronology to expound so complicated a religious system as Zoroaster's; we shall only observe, that Thomas Hyde, full of partiality for the *Guebers*,

* *See Diog. Laert. in Præmio.* But when he adds, that the magi are more ancient than the Egyptians, he is mistaken, and copies Hermiphus and Eudoxus.

has only rendered the subject more confused. To discuss it properly, he should have had, with his erudition, a mind as firm and unprejudiced as Hume or Gibbon. The doctrine of the modern Parsis, modified at different periods since Kyrus, is not a perfect image of the ancient; many circumstances mentioned by Plutarch* and other Greek

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* The following passage of his treatise, concerning *Isis* and *Osiris*, is particularly remarkable:—

"There are men who believe in the existence of two gods, whose opposite characters delight in doing one of them good, and the other evil. Zoroaster calls them *Oromaze* and *Ahriman*. He declared that the former was best represented by light, and the latter by darkness and ignorance. The Persians say that *Oromaze* was formed of the purest light: *Ahriman*, on the contrary, of the thickest *darkness:* Oromaze made six gods good like himself, and Ahriman opposed to them six wicked ones. Oromaze also made twenty-four others, whom he placed in an *egg;* but Ahriman created as many, who pierced the *egg*, and this has produced in the world a mixture of good and evil."

Theopompus adds, from the books of the magi, "that alternately one of these gods *predominates (is superior)* three *thousand* years, whilst the other is *inferior;* that afterwards they contend on equal terms during 3000 years more. But the evil genius is finally to be subdued," &c.

Reducing these allegories to their natural and plain meaning, it results that Zoroaster, from his physico-astronomical observations, considered the world, or universe, as governed by two principles or powers, one of *production*, the other of *destruction;* that the first ruled during the *six thousand*, that is during the *six months* of summer, from the equinox of Aries to that of Libra; and the second during the *six thousand* or *six months* of winter, from Libra to Aries. This division of each sign of the Zodiac into a thousand parts, is also found among the *Chaldeans;* and Anquetil, who well understood the allegory, speaks

authors, are no longer found in it; among others, we discover in Anquetil's compilation only one phrase concerning the dogma *of time without bounds*, and this phrase does not say so much as that of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, though greatly truncated by Photius.*

"Theodorus explains, in his first book on *Persian magic*, the infamous dogma of Zarasdes concerning *Zarouan*, *principal* of all things, called *fortune* (or *chance*). Theodorus relates how *Zarouan*, by making a (priapie) libation, engendered *Ormisda* and *Satan* (Ahriman): he speaks also of the mixture of their blood, and refutes all this very obscene dogma."

This is evidently connected with *ancient ideas* concerning *fecundation*, or animal creation, represented by the *Phallus*, in the picture of the sacrifice of Mithra;† at the same time that, under

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more than once of the *twelve thousand* of Zoroaster, as of the twelve *months* of the year.

The *egg* is well known to have been the emblem of the *world* among the Egyptians; the twenty-four *good* gods are the twelve months divided by *fortnights* of the increasing and decreasing moon, which custom is also found among the Indians and Romans: and so of the remainder; that is to say, all the Zoroasterian system was but astronomy and astrology, like all other ancient systems; and, being afterwards disfigured by its disciples, who did not understand it, it received a mystically moral sense and political applications which have had, on many occasions, and especially among the Jews, extraordinary consequences, since it gave rise to a new system.

* Page 199, Rouen edition, 1653.

† *See* Dupuis, Origine de tous les Cultes, pl. N°. 17.

another aspect, it is also the mystery of the first creation, or *extraction* from chaos, by the great agent of the *ancients*, the *fatum*, *fatality*, *chance*, which is also the *eternal*, the *ancient of days*. The Persian word *hazarouan* has itself this signification, since it means *millions of years*. It is from this dogma that the Valentinians took their *aïons*, or *ever living*; and this Greek word *aïon* is the *aïum*, the *aeuum* of the ancient Latins, who borrowed it from the Sanscrit *aum*. Here we have, for the first time, the true value of this so mysterious Hindoo word, the meditation on which should absorb all the faculties of the soul; and in fact what subject is more absorbing than eternity! It is not the only point of contact of Zoroaster's system with Brahmism. Its two principles are fundamentally but a simplification of the Indian Trinity; and there was a real advantage in maintaining that all *power*, all *action* consisted in producing and destroying; that, consequently, the intermedial introduced by the Brahmins, as *conservator*, by the name of *Vishnou*, was imaginary, in as much as there is no real stagnation between *encreasing* and *decreasing*, *augmenting* and *diminishing*.

It was all the analogies of this kind with ideas already existing, that prepared men's minds to receive the new religion. Perhaps the king of the Bactrians found also in it the political advantage, by adopting a particular system, of withdrawing himself from some influence, some supremacy ex-

ercised over the priests of his country, by those of Ninus. As to the identity of *Ardjasp* and *Ninus*, of Hystasp and the *Oxwartes* of Ktesias, it results from the resemblance of their actions:

" Ninus attacks a first time *Oxuartes, king of the Oxus, dwelling at Bactra;* he is repulsed by an army of valiant warriors."*

" *Ardjasp*, king of a country to the west of the Caspian, attacks Gustasp dwelling at Balk; he is defeated and compelled to retire."

" Ninus, after some years rest, during which he lays the foundations of Nineveh, again marches against Bactra. The city is taken, its king killed, and Bactriana is no longer mentioned but as a *satrapy* under Asar-adan-pal."

" Ardjasp, after some years, returns to surprise Balk, and the king Lohrasp is slain."

The orientals continue the life of Gustasp, and make him reign at *Estakar*, in Persia proper; but the ancient Greeks assure us that *Estakar*, which is Persepolis, owes, as well as Pasargade, its foundation to Kyrus;† and the Parsis have then confounded Kestasp with *Darius Hystasp*, who really embellished *Estakar*, as is proved by the inscriptions of that city. No doubt Zoroaster escaped from the conqueror, since he afterwards re-appears at the court of Semiramis; and the persecution he

* *See* the fragment of Ktesias in Diodorus, Lib. II. page 118.

† *See* Diodorus Siculus, Lib. I.; *Stephanus, de Urbibus, and Strabo.*

suffered from Ninus, might have entitled him to the protection of a woman who *assassinated* her husband. History does not tell us what became of Zoroaster during the reign of Ninyas, of whom he was the accomplice; and we cannot propose conjectures without proof. Suffice it to observe, that the origin of his religion, at this epoch, resolves all the chronological difficulties, which till this day embarrassed it. It cannot be opposed, in the system of Herodotus, by the mention made in Genesis of the *tree of knowledge of good and evil*, and of Eve's serpent, which, by a manifest allusion to the name of *Arim-an* (called in the Parsis books, the *great snake*, and *the liar*), is called *Aroum*, *(cunning)*, by the Hebrew book; for we have proved in the article of the Hebrews, that Genesis, *such as we have it*, cannot be the work of Moses; and that, invertedly, this passage, joined with many others, becomes an argument of the posthumity of this book composed in the time of king Josiah, by the high-priest Hilkiah, or rather by *Jeremiah*, when the system of Zoroaster reigned, for more than five centuries, over all western Asia.

It remains to explain on what foundations, in our table, the chronological relations of Ninus, Semiramis, and Zoroaster, are combined.

The age of Semiramis, when Ninus married her, requires two conditions; one, to be handsome enough to seduce him; the other, to be sufficiently advanced in years to possess the talents and know-

ledge she developed. The proper middle term appears to us to be thirty or thirty-two years of age; she might have given birth to Ninyas at the age of thirty-two or thirty-four. When we see her die, she is still in the force of the passions, and her son is already old enough to become one of the objects of her desires. He must be between twenty and twenty-four, since, on coming to the throne, he adopts immediately a system of administration calculated with craft and profoundness. At the same age, under similar circumstances, the son, also adulterous of the conqueror David, *Solomon* shews the same spirit, the same conduct; when we resume this subject, in the article of the Babylonians, we shall see, as Ktesias says, that Semiramis must have died about the age of sixty-two.

Ninus, when he commenced his reign, with the genius of Alexander and Kyrus, must have had nearly their age: suppose twenty-four or twenty-five: he reigned in 1227: he must have been born about 1260 or 1262: if he appointed his son *Agron*, king of the Lydians, in 1230, it must have been under the direction of a vizier; of this there are other examples: Ninus spent *seventeen years* in conquering Asia (the country of *Bactra* excepted): he must, therefore, have returned about the year 1220 to found and build Nineveh, which, according to historians, was larger than Babylon. Suppose for this undertaking, and for a period of peace and administrative labours, ten or twelve years: he

might have renewed the war of Bactriana about the year 1208, besieged Bactra, and married Semiramis about the year 1207 or 1206. Ninyas might be born in 1205. Some time after Semiramis lays a snare for her husband, in which he falls a victim of his too great confidence: his moral faculties must have been impaired: this answers to the age of sixty-five or sixty-six; he must have died about the year 1296 or 1295, and reigned forty-two years. Ktesias gives him *ten* more; but Ktesias is convicted of having falsified all the reigns of his list: Semiramis, become the wife of Ninus about 1206 or 1207, might be born in 1239 or 1240. According to Ktesias she lived sixty-two years: this brings us to 1180 or 1179; her reign would have lasted fifteen or sixteen years besides ten with Ninus: in all twenty-five or twenty-six years, instead of the forty-two of the Greek author: the fifteen or sixteen years are sufficient for her labours and conquests, since the foundation of Babylon lasted only a year, and the two millions of labourers employed in the works, render the fact credible. The Indian war would date in the fifth year of her reign; that of Armenia, in the seventh or eighth; and this astonishing woman would have died six years after, about the year 1280. We say nothing of her pretended conquests in Africa, fraudulously imagined by the Persians.

In the year 1280, Zoroaster must have been far advanced in life; suppose seventy: he would be

born in 1250: if, as we learn from the Parsis books, he was already at Balk during the first attack of Ninus, he should have been only thirty-two at that epoch; but there is no depending on their chronological accounts. In the second expedition, he was fifty, and this agrees much better with the twenty years retreat, and the thirty years of age given him by Pliny and the Parsis, when he began his mission. He might have been sixty-five when he became *visier* to Semiramis, and all the probabilities are evidently observed.

An incident in the life of Semiramis indicates the kind of years used by the Assyrians. After relating, according to Ktesias, the fabulous origin of this woman, Diodorus adds:—

"Atheneus* and other writers assure (on the contrary), that Semiramis was a courtezan, who, for her graces and beauty, was beloved by Ninus; she first enjoyed an ordinary degree of favour, but afterwards so increased her credit that she obtained the name of wife, and persuaded the king to grant her *five days* royalty. The first day, clothed in the royal mantle, with a sceptre in her hand, she did the honours of a great festival and of a magnificent entertainment, which time she employed in seducing the generals and making them promise to obey her orders. The second day, seeing that all was ready for the execution of her project, she made away with Ninus."

* This is not the grammarian, because he lived after Diodorus.

Why does Semiramis ask *five days*, rather than any other number? The reason appears to us evident. For ages, the Egyptians made use of the year of 360 days, to which they added the five epagomene ones, as a discordant appendix, which spoiled the symmetry of the principal number. Semiramis taking advantage of this idea, might have said many ingenious things on the occasion, to make it be believed that she only required a period of time unimportant and out of the account. Our opinion is the more reasonable, as this same kind of year was in vigour in the time of Nabonasar in the Assyrian empire, and in one of its satrapies, among the Kaldeans, the sacerdotal tribe of the whole nation. Admitting Atheneus's account, which in fact is the most probable, nothing is changed in our calculations, except the epoch of Semiramis's marriage, which in that case no longer depends on the war of Bactriana, and might take place some years sooner.

§ IV. *Of the ancient kings of Persia, according to the modern orientals.*

We have still to examine the list of the ancient kings of Persia, which modern orientals present us in competition and contradiction with the Greek lists. According to the orientals, two dynasties only filled the space of time that elapsed from the (Jewish) creation of the world to the conquest of Alexander. The first dynasty is that of the *Pichedâd, or givers of just* (laws); and the second, that of

the Kèans or *Kaians*, that is to say, the *giant or great kings*. Here are their names and reigns.

First *Dynasty, called Pichedad.*

	Reigned According to some. *Years.*
Keiomors or Kêomaras	560
Siamek reigns not long; Keiomors reigns again	30
Interregnum	200
Houchenk	50
Tehmouras	700
Djemchid	30
Zohâk or Doâk	1000
Feridoun, or Fredôun	120
Menutchehr called Firouz (In his time lived *Roustam.*)	500
Nodar, or Nurez	7
Afrasiab	12
Zâb	30
Kershasp	30
	3269 years

Second *Dynasty, called Keane, or Kaian.*		*According to the Greeks.*	Years.	Months.
Kê Qobad	120, or 100			
Ké Kaous (In his time *Roustam* lived still)	150			
Ké Kosrou	60	Kyrus	30	
Ké Lohr-asp	120	Cambyses	7	5
Ké Gustasp	120	Smerdis		7
His grandson Ardechir-Bahman	112	Darius, son of Hystasp	36	
		Xerces I.	21	
		Artaxerxes Longimanus	41	
His daughter, Homaï	32	Xerces II.		2
		Sogdian		7
		Ochus, or Darius the bastard	19	
Darab I.	4, or 14	Artaxerxes Mnemo	46	
Darab II. *(denied by several)*	14	Artaxerxes Ochus	21	
	732	Arses	2	
Others reckon	938	Darius Codomannus	6	
			230	9
Eskander, or Alexander.		Alexander		

It is unnecessary to discuss the extravagant chronology of these reigns; we shall only remark, that Arabian and Persian authors have an infinity of different readings concerning the duration of the reigns, because there are no real authorities. If, as we hope, we shall succeed in recognizing the persons of these kings, notwithstanding their disguise, the periods will be classed of themselves. Let us reason on the facts, and first recollect the suppression ordered by *Ardéchir*. It is evident, that it necessitated the perquisition, the confiscation of all the manuscripts existing in Persia: the royal authority having coalesced with ecclesiastical influence, there was a civil and religious inquisition over all books; and there could escape only a very small number, because, being all in manuscript, they were ever scarce in Asia, and moreover, because it was known in what hands they were to be found. At that time (226) they must have been so much the more rare, as unremitting wars since Alexander, sometimes foreign, at other times civil, had produced on men's minds that discouragement and disgust of study by which they are always attended. The censors appointed by *Ardéchir* have, therefore, destroyed the old books, and re-made new ones, such as answered their purpose. It may be imagined what alterations were then introduced! and yet, these are not the books we possess; they also were destroyed by the Mussulmen, 400 years after, in consequence of

their invasion in 651. It was not till upwards of three centuries after (about the year 1000), that a foreign conqueror, more generous, ordered, for his instruction, all remaining popular traditions preserved in romances, the only monuments, to be collected every where with the greatest care. And it is from this source that we derive *histories* composed in verse and prose *by Mussulmen!* Such is the profound ignorance of modern Persians, concerning the ancient history of their country, that they not only have not the slightest idea of Kyrus, of Xerxes and their actions, but that they even have not amongst them any trace whatever of an era preserved in China by a colony of Persian *Pyrolâtres*, who took refuge there in the year 519 of our era. This curious fact merits to be better known; we are indebted for it to the learned Freret, who inserted it in the memoirs of the academy.* Anquetil has added explanations in Vol. XXXVII. page 732.

" We read in the Chinese annals, that in a year corresponding to the year 599 of Jesus Christ, (beginning the 25th of December, 598), there arrived in China a colony of men from the west, who settled (in such a place) and who preserved with their laws a form of the year and era peculiar to them. Now a Chinese author observes, that

* Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscript., Vol. XVI. page 245.

the year corresponding to 1384 of Jesus Christ, (beginning at the winter solstice of 1383) was the 586th since the arrival of that colony in China, and the 1942d of their era, formed of *years of* 365 *days*.

If from the year 1384, we ascend beyond our era to complete a sum of 1942, we shall have 558 for the first year of the era of these occidentals. *Freret* endeavours to find 560, and sees in it the epoch of Kyrus, who, in fact, acquired the empire in that year; but since 558 is the natural result, is it not rather the epoch of that *conversion* of the Persians to the religion of Zoroaster, of which we have spoken, page 88, and which really falls on the junction of the years 557 and 558?* At all events, it is certain that these *Occidentals* were *Zoroastrian Persians*, as is proved by *Anquetil*, from the names of their months, and that this epoch is entirely forgotten in Persia. Now that we are in the secret of the ignorance and impudence of the compilers of that country, let us analyse their lists, and see of what factitious kings they composed their two first dynasties.

First, setting out from a known point, that is from *Kestasp*, taken for *Darius* Hystasp, let us ascend and see if the kings mentioned by Mirkhond and Ferdousi, do not answer to some of the kings cited by Herodotus and other Greeks.

* There must be an error in the 599, mentioned by Freret.

§ V. *Kêân or Kaiân Dynasty.*

The word *kê* or *kai* signifies *giant* and *great* in pehlevi, as we are told by authors; and we add, that in Armenian, *skai* has the same signification.

According to Mirkhond,

"The art of *drawing the bow* was carried to perfection under these princes; and hence comes the Persian proverb, a *Keânian bow*, to express a very strong bow, which few persons are able to draw."

This remarkable fact recalls the anecdote of *Kyaxar*, who granting hospitality to the *Scythian hunters*, confided to them young men of his court, to be instructed in drawing the *bow* after the Scythian manner. From this school must have come the superiority of the *Parthians*, a mingled nation of *Kurds* and *Medes*. These Keanian kings should therefore be the Medes of Herodotus: we find the Persian *ké* in *ky-axar*, which is well explained by——*the great conqueror*.

According to Ferdousi, and according to Mirkhond, *Ké-Zobad* was not a king's son; he led a private retired life. Iran was ravaged by foreigners. Zâl, governor of Zablestan, and father of the celebrated Roustam, having collected an army to repel them and re-establish order, formed a great council of war, and made this speech to the chiefs:—

"Magnanimous warriors, instructed by [illegible]

rience and dangers, I have assembled this army and endeavoured to make it formidable; but all are discouraged at heart for want of a king to unite their efforts: business is transacted without a guide; the army acts and marches without a leader: when *Zou* filled the throne, our situation wore a better aspect. Let us elect a man of royal descent; and give him the distinctive marks of royalty. A king will establish order in the world. A *body* of a nation cannot exist without a *chief*. The priests point out to us for this dignity a descendant of Feridon, a man eminent for greatness of soul and for his *justice*."

Now compare what Herodotus tells us of the election of Déïokès, Lib. I°. § xcvi. and following:

After destroying the Assyrian empire, the Medes, become independent, were soon tormented by *all the disorders of anarchy*.

Now there was among them a sage called *Déïokès*, who, having been remarked for his morality and justice, was appointed judge of his borough, by the suffrage of his fellow-citizens.

"When he saw his reputation established, and clients flocking to him, he withdrew. Robberies recommenced; the Medes assembled, and held council on their situation; Déïokès's friends spoke there, no doubt, in these terms: Since the disturbed life we lead does not allow us any longer to inhabit this country, let us choose a king. Media then being governed by wise laws, we may culti-

vate our fields peaceably, and without apprehending to be driven away by *injustice* and violence. This discourse persuaded the Medes to give themselves a king."

We see that both accounts are fundamentally the same. Also Ké Qobad is represented as a pacific king, occupied with administrative cares. He was the first who placed on the roads milestones, called *farsang* (of 2568 fathom); he created a tythe to pay the regular troops. He fixed his residence in *Irâq Adjàmi*, that is to say, in *Media;* and as the Persians have no idea of *Ecbatana*, they suppose it was at *Ispahan;* all this answers Déïokès.

The second king, *Kai-Kaôus*, was son to *Qobad* according to some; but the Chronicle *Madjmal-el-Taoûarîk*, which in general is well informed, observes, that he is said by many to be the son of *Aphra*, Qobad's son. *Aphra* is surely *Phraortes*, who was suppressed by the Persians, for having subdued and rendered them dependant on the Medes.

Kai-Kaôus, in the first years of his reign, undertakes, against a warlike people, a military expedition, of which Ferdousi relates a remarkable circumstance. This poet says, that,

"During a battle fought by *Kè-Kaous*, he and his army were struck with a *sudden and magical blindness*, and that this event had been *predicted* to the enemy, *by one of their magicians*."

Is not this evidently the *eclipse* of Kyaxarès, in

his battle against Alyates? and the more so as, with the Orientals, *magic*, *astronomy*, are synonimous. This war is placed in *Mazanderan*; but we have already said that no geographical accuracy can be expected from the Orientals. Proofs are not wanting, even in the Syriac, Arabian, Armenian, and Persian translators of the Hebrew books, who very frequently commit the grossest errors. As to *Ferdousi* and *Mirkhond* themselves, every principal fact is for them a canvass on which they embroider at will; and as these two writers, in the pay of princes, proposed to flatter them, they often introduced accessories, motives, and sentences, which did not exist in their authors; without taking into account that these authors themselves, third, fourth, and tenth-hand compilers and copyers, had taken the same liberties with the originals; so that all these narrations are no more like the historical truth, than the romances of Orlando and his Peers are like the true history of Charlemagne. Also, after the *magical blindness*, *Ké Kaous* is made prisoner; but the paladin *Roustam* arrives, delivers him, and the country submits. Soon after, *Ké Kaous* turns his arms against Egypt, Syria, and *Roum*, which is the name of Asia Minor since its occupation by the Romans. Every thing succeeded with him, through the valour of *Roustam*. This hero, who is made to live *more than* 200 *years*, plays a great part, under *Kai Kaous*, that is under *Kyaxar*. But, considering that he at first enjoyed great

favour, that he was afterwards disgraced, and forced to retire to a distant country, where he carried on a war against the kings of Persia; that he was personally *the most accomplished warrior*, *the most skilful horseman*, the *best hunter*, &c. it seems to us evident that *Roustam* was the *Parsadas* of Ktesias, so celebrated for his exploits, for his favour with *Artaïos-Kyaxares*, for his romantic adventure at Babylon; finally, for his revolt against the king of Media, and retreat among the Cadusians: over whom he became *king*, and where he supported a war which he terminated with honour. D'Herbelot, in the article of *Roustam*, observes that, according to some authors, *Ké Kaous* sent him his son to convert him to *magism*, that is, to the doctrine of *Zerdoust*. Nevertheless, these authors assure us afterwards, that Zerdoust appeared four generations later.

Also, according to them, *Ké Kaous* marches an army into Iemen, marries the king's daughter, is made prisoner by surprise, is delivered by *Roustam*. In the mean time, the *Turks*, says Ferdousi, (that is to say, the Scythians) conducted by Afrasiab, had invaded *Tourân*, and overwhelmed it with calamities. Roustam fights them for a long time, without being able to expel them. This resembles the invasion of the Scythians, under Kyaxarès.

As to the war of Iemen, it appears geographically strange: but if the ancient Orientals denoted that country by the name and epithet of *Felix*

(Arabia) and if this word is exactly synonimous with the Chaldean *Assar Assyria*, which also signifies *happy* and *rich*, might not the authors have been deceived by the ambiguity, so as to transport into the *happy* (Arabia,) the war, that *Kyaxarès* carried on against the *happy* country of Nineveh.

Here the Arabian translations, published by M. *Schultens*, contain facts that have a certain analogy.

According to the historian Nouèïri, one of the *Tobbas*, successor of *Balqis*, called *Chamar Ierache* (Shamar, the trembler), *went into Iråq in the time of Gustasp, who rendered him obedience.* This *Chamar* having taken the road of *Sinn*, (which he wished to conquer,) descended into the country of *Sogd*, whose inhabitants collected together in the capital city (to defend it:) *Chamar* besieged them there, took the city and destroyed it, after massacreing an immense multitude. The conqueror continued his march towards *Sinn;* but he perished in the desert.

According to *Hamza*, it is very true that some authors place *Chamar* in the time of *Gust-asp;* but others assure that he was more ancient, and add, that he *was killed by Roustam:* it must have been he who, under the name of *Chamar-ben-el-emlouk*, did homage to *Manutchehr*, who, according to the Parsis, had the paladin *Zal* for his visier, and his son, the paladin *Roustam*, for one of his generals.

We shall see, in the *Piche-dad* dynasty, that Manutchehr has many points of resemblance with

Deïokès and *Kyaxar*, that is to say, with *Ké Qobad* and *Ké Kaous*: but the identity of Roustam and Parsodas being admitted, it should follow that the reign of *Kyaxar*, or of his father, was the epoch of that celebrated expedition of the *Arabian Tobbas*, traces of whom subsisted still in the eleventh century; for the geographer *Ebn-haukal* says he saw the inscription of *Chamar* on one of the gates of *Samarkand*, which took its name from this Tobbas (castle of Chamar,)* and this expedition can scarcely be set down at another epoch; because, on the one hand, ascending from Alexander to Kyrus, it has neither any traces nor probability, on account of the power of the Persians; and, nevertheless, authors make *Chamar* prior to Eskander; and because, on the other hand, under the empire of the Assyrians, after the connexion existing between them and the *Arabians*, it is improbable that the latter should cross, in a hostile manner, the territory of the children of Ninus, to go and attack the *Sogdians*, who were their subjects. On the contrary, when that family of allies and friends was dethroned by Arbak, the *Tobbas* must have considered the Medes as rebels and enemies, and might undertake against Déïokès, Phraortes, and *Kyaxar*, expeditions which Herodotus did not know of or has not men-

* His grand-son *El-Aqran* repaired it when he marched to avenge his father, against the country of *Sim*, of which he took the capital, and where he settled a colony of 30,000 Arabians. The posterity of these colonists still subsisted in 1168, according to Ebn Hamdoun, in *Tibet*, which is the *Sinn* of Arabian authors.

tioned. Whether it be the time of anarchy, or the first years of Deïok still feeble, or else the invasion of the Scythians, and their domination during twenty-eight years, both epochs were equally favourable to *Chamar's* attack; and when it is considered that, by the calculations of Masoudi and of the false prophecy of *Zerdoust*, the reign of Gustasp is to be set down in the time of *Kyaxares*, it will be allowed that our interpretation receives confirmation in all its details.

As to what Hamza adds: "That *Manutchehr* was contemporary with Moses; Afridoun with Abraham, Abd-el-chams, called *Saba*, with *Ké Qobad*, &c. They are anachronisms produced by the vicious comparisons which Mussulmen writers have made of the Arabian and Jewish chronologies considered in their brute state, and without having discussed their parts. This is an habitual error with them: there is no relying on the accuracy of their synchronisms, unless when they are founded on positive facts, transacted by the persons mentioned: for instance, the tribute imposed by *Chamar* on *Gustasp*, or paid by him to *Manutchehr*; which forms a contradictory circumstance, but lets the fundamental fact subsist; to wit, the *attack* and *tribute*.

After *Ke Kaous-Ky-axar*, we should find *Astyag*; but this king is totally wanting: his reign seems to have been blended with that of *Ké Kaous*, the duration of which surpasses the two united reigns. The

marriage with a king's daughter, at the conclusion of a war, and during an armistice, must be that of Astyag after the battle of the Eclipse: it is also to him that can be applied the history, so complicated and variously related, of the consequences of this marriage, of which the unanimous issue is, that the successor of the reigning king was not his own son, but his grand-son, *Ké Kosrou*, educated in Persia by Roustam, and afterwards called to court, when grown up, by the king, who resigns to him his crown, and ends his days in retirement.

If Herodotus and Ktesias differ so much on this head, it is not surprising that our romances should have variations, dictated no doubt, before the time of Ardechir, by the *royal policy of the Persians*, to conceal a period not honourable for Kyrus and his grand-father. But the principal circumstances remain, and make Kyrus be recognized under the name of *Kosrou*. What Ferdousi relates of his clandestine birth, of his youth spent in the state of a shepherd, &c. adds further to the resemblance.

Ké Kosrou had great wars with *Afrasiab*, king of Turkestan, who, after many battles, was killed in *Adârbidjân*, that is, in *Media*. A king of *Turkestan*, beyond the *Oxus*, who takes refuge in Media, in the heart of his enemy's territory, is an extraordinary and absurd adventure; but if *Touran* was the mountainous country of *Atouria* and *Media*, as we have said, the account becomes natural;

Afrasiab is *Astyag*, on whom Kyrus really made war in Media, and who, according to Ktesias, was afterwards killed by an eunuch, who had orders to conduct him to Kyrus.

Ké-Kosrou left a great name, and passes for a prophet. Among the variations of his reign, there is one which gives him a duration of thirty years. All this answers Kyrus. It is very probable that to this prince himself are to be attributed the variations concerning his grand-father's reign, and the *suppression of real facts*, which would have been humiliating to his pride, and of a dangerous example to his successors.

Now we ought to find the history of Cambyses and the mage Smerdis, killed by the conspirators, one of whom (Darius, son of Hystasp) became king, but the *royal policy* of the Persians has again suppressed the first, as being a furious madman, and the *sacerdotal policy* of the magi has suppressed the second, as a painful recollection of the massacre of their tribe, which then took place. To fill up the vacancy they introduced after *Kosrou*, dead without children, the king *Lohr-asp*, the supposed descendant of *Qobad*.

Mirkond describes him as cruel and haughty, in opposition to other authors, who represent him as good and just.

" Become king by election, he had competitors whom he soon reduced to silence: he instituted a

particular tribunal of justice for the army; he established a regular pay, instead of the pillage practised by his soldiers; he distributed justice from a *golden alcove*, with a *curtain* drawn before his person, *which became invisible*," &c.

All these circumstances agree with Déïokès. Let us hear Herodotus:—

" Déïokès having built his palace in the city of Ekbatana, was the first who established the rule, that nobody should enter where the king was; that all business should be transacted by the intervention of certain officers, who should make him their report (that is to say, by secretaries of state, *visiers*); that no person should *look on the king*; that no one should laugh or spit in his presence. He instituted this pompous etiquette, in order that they who had been his equals might not be jealous of him, nor conspire against his person. He thought that by becoming *invisible*, he should pass for a being of a different nature. Having established these regulations, he administered justice *with severity*. The proceedings were sent to him *in writing*; he judged and sent them back with his decision. As to the police, he had in all his dominions emissaries who spied the discourses and actions of every one (that is to say, he established the spying system); and if any person committed a crime, he sent for and punished him." Herodotus, Lib. I°. § § XCIX. and C.

Is not this the portrait of Lohrasp? It is also

said that this prince made great conquests, first to the *east*, and afterwards to the west (in Asia Minor). It was he who sent into Palestine one of his lieutenants, *Raham*, surnamed *Bakhtnasar* or *Nabou-kodon-asar; Raham* dethroned the *son of David*, who reigned there at the time, and *carried off an immense booty*.*

Here Lohrasp becomes that *Kyaxar-Astibaras*, who concerted with Nebuchadnezzar (according to Eupolemus), to send an army against Jerusalem; and in fact that city was taken and ransomed under king Jehoiakim.

From all these accounts, our Persian romances are convicted, as well as Ktesias, of having confounded the epochs, and doubled the persons. The son of *Lohrasp*, called *Kestasp*, a turbulent, am-

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* That the Persians of Kyrus and Darius, possessors of *Babylon*, should imagine that the kings of that city had always been their lieutenants and vassals, is not so extraordinary, because, with respect to the Medes, predecessors of the Persians, there is some appearance of the truth. But that Persian authors of the eleventh century should assert that Kyrus and Xerces were only the vassals and lieutenants of an imaginary *châh*, does but prove their profound ignorance of antiquity, and does not merit discussion. It is much to be regretted that M. *Mouradja d Ohson* has adopted and extolled among us these Asiatic reveries, in his *historical picture of the east;* but it is natural enough that born an *Armenian*, educated at *Stamboul*, in the respect and admiration of great power, M. Mouradja, though he became a Swedish *interpreter* and *count*, could not so easily change his manner of thinking as his dress: his book, which we have just mentioned, written without any order, without indicating any authority, is only fit to give false and vague ideas, and should, in no case, be looked on as a *history* of the ancient east.

bitious prince, goes over to *Afrasiab*, king of *Touran;* Mirkond says to *Kaisar*, king of *Roum*, (Cæsar, king of the Romans), whose daughter he married, in consequence of some romantic adventures: he declares war against his father, and marches to meet him with an army. Lohrasp, to avoid the effusion of blood, resigns the diadem to him, withdraws to a convent and dies, as has been seen in the article of Zoroaster.

This is a mixture of the history of Astyag, married in Lydia, and of Kyrus dethroning Astyag, the whole arranged so as to answer the purposes of Ardechir and his magi, or of some Parthian king before him; the rest is not worth the trouble of examining it: but let us take a survey of the *Pichedâd* dynasty.

§ VI. *Piche-dâd dynasty.*

If the Kéanians were the Medes, their predecessors must have been the Assyrians of Nineveh. Our romancers do not mention, and appear not to know one of these names, and yet they say that their monuments are ancient. *Kéomors* was, according to them, the first *man* or *king*. We shall soon know what we are to think of him.

The fifth of the *Piche-dâd* fixes first our attention; we think we recognize him in all his features and even in his name. Let us hear the Chronicles:—

"*Djem-Chid* reigned since five or six hundred

years over Persia (these years cost nothing): he dwelt at *Estakar*, which he had embellished; he had made a triumphant entry into it at the vernal equinox, the day on which the sun entered Aries; and from thence came the *Naurouz* of the Persians. He had divided the nation into *three* classes—the *warriors*, the *labourers*, the *artisans*: he had composed or subdued *seven* provinces. His reign was glorious, when God, to punish him for exacting adoration, excited against him a powerful enemy, who overturned him.

"This enemy was *Zohâk*, who, according to some authors, was his relation; but whom they all allow to have been a *Tâzi*, that is an *Arabian*, prince. Some say he was the immediate son of *Cheddâd*, son of *Aâd*, ancient king of Iemen: others say only that he descended from him by *Olouân* or *Olouïan*. Zohak, at the head of a powerful army, drove out Djem-chid, who disappeared, and travelled incognito a hundred years over the whole earth. Become king, *Zohâk* was a very cruel tyrant; it was he who invented various tortures, among others that of *crucifying* and flaying alive: he had several surnames, such as *Piour-asp*, that is to say in Pehlevi, the man *of ten thousand horse*, because he always marched with an escort *of ten thousand Arabian horse* glittering with gold and silver (evidently a picked corps of cavalry). He was likewise called at one time *Homairi*, or the Homerite; at another, *Qais-lohoub*, that is to

say, the *Quaisi of the glittering arms*;* at other times, Ajdehâc and *Mâr*, that is to say *serpent*, because he had on his shoulders two serpents attached to two ulcers which the devil produced there by two kisses. As a remedy, he advised *Zohâk* to apply to them the brains of men and children: the prisons were filled with victims destined for this execrable work. The gaolers, moved with compassion, suffered some of them to escape, who taking refuge in the mountains, became the origin of the *Kurdes*. Two children of a blacksmith, of the capital of Pars (Persia) having been seized, their father, called *Gao* or *Kao*, stirred up the people by his cries, and became the leader at first of a sedition, and afterwards of a regular army, whose chief standard was the *leathern apron* which *Gao* had raised on the end of a pole. This apron, which was ever after the royal standard, was successively enriched with such a quantity of precious stones, that when it fell into the hands of the Arabians at the battle of *Qadesia* (in the year 652 of our era), it made the fortune of the Arabian corps that took it.

" *Gao*, become general, would not accept the crown; he conferred it on a descendant of the ancient kings of *Aderbidjân* (Media), who led a retired life in that country. This new king, called

* The root *lahab* is wanting in Arabian (see Golius), but it exists in Hebrew, which, in many cases, very well explains the old Arabian.

Fridon, or Feridon, with *Gao's* assistance, defeated *Zohâk*, made him prisoner, killed him according to some, or, according to others, shut him up in the caverns of mount *Demaouend* (in *Hyrcania*). Now Zohâk had reigned ten generations, or ten centuries (for people are not agreed upon this point)."

Such are the popular stories which most Mussulmen and Parsis historians relate seriously and believe devoutly: certainly, we have here a great many fables; but under their varnish, we have likewise a basis of historical truths. Let us endeavour to discover them.

Persia properly so called (having for its capital Estakar), invaded and subdued by a foreign king, brings to our recollection the Assyrian Ninus and the Mede Praortes, the only conquerors assigned to it in history. But this stranger, we are told, was an Arabian, a *Homairi*, that is to say, a Sabean king. We are acquainted with several, let us search this one: *his father, or one of his fathers, was the celebrated Cheddâd, son of Aâd*, both of them ancient kings of Iemen; we have seen these names in the Arabian traditions of Schultens. Aboulfeda, speaking of *Haret Arraïes*, told us, that he was son of *Cheddâd*, son of *Aâd*,* ancient

* It is evident that this name *Aâd* was, among the ancient Arabians, the name of a great many persons, at the same time, that it also denoted a tribe. Thus, among the Hebrews *Manasseh*, *Simeon*, *Ephraim*, names of tribes, are also the names of individuals. Among

kings of Iemen; Haret would be then the *Zoh* of the Persians, as he is, in Ktesias, the *Arvaios*,

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the *wonders of the world*, the Arabians mention the well of *Moattala* in the country of the *Midianites*, descended from *Âád*, a tribe that had been driven out of Iemen. The *Midianites* are mentioned before Moses: therefore, the expulsion of the Aâdites is much more ancient.

In their accounts, interspersed with fables, the Arabian *authorities*, with respect to *Cheddâd*, several facts of a really historical accuracy, and very instructive. For instance, *Chehab-el-din*, in his book *Djoman* (the Pearls), relates that* "Aâd had a great number of children, three of whom reigned after him; (to wit) *Mondâr*, *Cheddâd*, and *Loqman*. *Cheddâd* having succeeded *Mondar*, made great conquests in Africa as far as the ocean. After *two hundred years* absence, returned to Iemen, he would not reside in the castle of Mareb, and he finished the castle called *El Mocheyâd*, commenced by his brother *Mondâr*. He therein employed, with profusion, the gold silver, and precious stones (he had brought back from his conquests) The interior of the walls was adorned with the most costly stones, and the pavement was of marble of various colours (a Mosaic). *Cheddâd* had received from nature a prodigious *strength* of body (his name is derived from it: *chedid* signifies *strong*); he bent iron with his fingers, and the burst of his voice *could kill a lion*. He lived to a very advanced age, and saw his posterity multiply prodigiously.

"The *garden*, called *Aram-Zât-el-èmâd* (Aram of the pillars), is also a work of this prince. Having read in (certain) *revealed books* the description of Paradise, whose pillars are of gold and silver, the dust of musk and amber, the grass of saffron and iris, the pebbles of iacinth and emerald, &c. he wished to imitate this magnificence. He chose a delicious plain, intersected by a thousand rivulets, and built there an enchanted castle, &c.

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* *See* Notice des Manuscrits Orientaux, Vol. II. page 139.—Extracted by M. de Sacy.

Ninus's ally and collaborator in his conquests: but Persia was precisely one of his conquests. Other

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"In his book of the *Wonders of God*,* Jaqouti expresses himself more historically concerning this work: *Aram of the pillars*, says he, is a city situate between Sanaá and *Hadramaut*: it was built by *Cheddâd*, son of *Aâd*, ancient king of the Arabians; it was twelve parasangs long, and as many broad (nearly the extent of Moscow); it contained an infinite number of wonderful edifices," &c.

We must retrench all the fables with which writers have embroidered such a canvass: the 200 years of *Cheddâd* are not of their invention: their analogy with the prodigious ages of the Jewish antiquities, only proves, that their years were not then composed of twelve months, as we have seen in the *Chronology* of the Hebrews. Taking only the essence of the facts related in the above article, we find in it a clear indication, that before the times of *Haret* and of *Ninus*, and ascending to that of *Sesostris*, the Arabians of Iemen had already made in Africa those great expeditions which they repeated in Solomon's time: that already, at a much earlier epoch, they might have settled that colony of *Abyssinian-Ethiopians*, whose origin, according to the learned Ludolf, is lost in the remotest antiquity, and who, totally differing from the *negro* race by their long hair, oval faces, and idiom entirely Arabic, denote a foreign invasion which expelled the native inhabitants of the rich country watered by the tributaries of the Upper-Nile. It is easy to conceive, that a prince possessing the extraordinary means of *Cheddâd*, might undertake expeditions the way to which had been opened to him by his predecessors, and might afterwards display a luxury of which the kingdom of Thebes offered him a model: it is remarkable, that the word *Aram*, which in Arabian has no signification, denotes in sanscrit a *garden*; and, that the *paradise* described by *certain revealed books*, is the *Hindoo* paradise, as it is represented in the *Pouranas*; so that we have here an evident indication of the diffusion of *Brahmism* at that remote period; and this name of *Aram*, *garden*, given to the rich country of Mesopotamia,

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* Notice des Manuscrits Orientaux, Vol. II. page 393.

circumstances come in support of these analogies: for instance, the corps of *ten thousand Arabian horse, glittering with gold and silver*, whence comes the epithet of *quais lo houb*. In fact, several authors make Haret, son or partisan of *Qais*, a name which, among the Arabians, was from all antiquity, that of a party distinguished by the *red standard*, in opposition to the *Iamani*, distinguished by a *white one:* in fine, the invention of *torture on the cross* recalls Ninus's cruelty towards Pharnus, king of Media, and connects together the accounts of Ktesias, of Mirkond, and of Aboulfeda. But, according to Ktesias, Persia was subject to the Assyrian empire, and not to the *Tobbas*, *Arabian* kings; it is therefore probable, that *Haret*, having conquered it as lieutenant and ally of Ninus, and having perhaps governed it for some time, bore all the odium of the invasion; and that, having afterwards resigned it to the Assyrians, the name of *Zôhâk*, which denotes all *powerful wicked beings*, was transferred collectively, according to the oriental style, to the entire dynasty of *Ninus:*

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proves, with many other geographical names, that the Indian system extended formerly, as Wilford has clearly ascertained, over all the continent of Asia. To unprejudiced eyes, the horizon of antiquity retires and enlarges, according as the observer advances; but for him who wears *Jewish spectacles*, at a small distance beyond Abraham, the horizon is obstructed by *Mount Ararat*, and by Chaldean darkness, where the fascinated imagination only discovers *gigantic* figures and fantastical beings, in whimsically painted clouds.

hence, the reign of *a thousand years*, attributed to *Zohak*, which duration has some analogy with the 1070, assigned by Velleius to the kings of Assyria.*

If our interpretation is right, *Feridon*, the conqueror of *Zohâk* and deliverer of *Irân*, must be *Arbâk*, conqueror of Sardanapal, and deliverer of the Persians led by *Gaô*, to the assistance of the Medes; and in fact, as well as *Arbâk*, *Feridoun* is a *Mede* by birth; he lives in *Aderbidjan*, or Media; he is of royal race, but leads a retired life. He becomes king by election, promoted by *Gaô*, in the same manner as *Arbâk* by Belesis; he reigns at *Ourmi*, the ancient capital of Media Proper; in fine, he *abdicates*, and every thing leads to suppose that *Arbâk abdicated.*

Ferdousi adds, that the city where *Zohâk* was attacked by Feridoun, was called the strong *Nevehct*, or *Nuhet;* and it is the oriental name of *Ninnuh* or *Nin-Nevet (residence of Ninus,)* where Sardanapal was attacked by Arbâk. As to what the poet adds of himself, that *Nevehet* is *Aïlia*, that is to say Jerusalem, we here see the historical and geographical ignorance of the Mussulman,

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* The quality of Djemchid's relation is also in harmony with the tradition mentioned by *Mascoudi*, that one of the four primitive Arabian tribes possessed Persia, and were an allied portion of its inhabitants; one of these tribes was called *Aâd*, which must have caused an ambiguity with the father of *Cheddâd.*

since the name of *Aïlia* was not introduced till the time of Adrian. It is in consequence of this false interpretation that, describing the march of Feridoun, Ferdousi makes him cross the Tigris, on whose banks the action was fought.

A writer anterior to those we copy, the Armenian *Moses of Chorene* was acquainted in the fifth century (about 450), with all these Perso-Mede traditions, and by shewing us the names of *Zohak* and *Feridoun*, under a more ancient form, he supplies us with useful information.

How can you take pleasure (says he to his friend Isaac Bagratou), how can you take pleasure in the dull popular tales concerning *Biour-asp-Azda-hâk?* and why impose on me the task of repeating to you the absurd stories of his *beneficent misdeed*, of the demons that attended him? of relating how *Hrodan* (or *Vrodan)* tied him with chains of brass, and carried him to Mount Dembaouend? How *Hrodan*, having fallen asleep by the way, *Biourasp* was dragging him towards a hill, when Hrodan awaking, conducted him to the cavern, where he shut him up? &c. (page 77.)

Here our known epithet of *Piour-asp* joined to *Azdehak*, proves this last name to have been the true ancient form of that of *Zohâk*, and that modern Persians assign it a false etymology, when they explain it by *deh-âq*, or ten *shames*. Moses of Chorene is more exact and better informed than they, when he tells us that, in the Armenian

tongue (in many points analogous with the ancient Mede*), the word *Azdehak* signifies *draco, great serpent;* which is the precise meaning of the Persian word *mâr*, which we have seen to be an epithet of *Zohâk*, having for its fundamental type the *Draco borealis, the genius of winter and all its ills*, of which Zoroaster made his *great snake, Ahrimân.*

On the other hand, the Armenian Moses tells us, page 38, that the Armenian and Median name of *Astyag*, son of Kyaxar, was *Azdehâk*, which differs from it only by the exchange of the strong for the weak consonants (aSTuaG aZDehâK); whence it results that Astyag, a weak and wicked king, was also a *Zohâk;*† and this name must have been given by the Armenians and Persians to all the Mede dynasty; for, on the one hand, Moses adds, that in the old songs of the peasants of his time, the race of *Astyag* was called the *race* of

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* We find in ancient Armenia, Mount *Capotes*, which is a pure sanscrit word, signifying the *Lingam* (Phallus); the Araxes pierces a mountain at a place called *Ordovar*, and the Ganges does so at a place called *Heridvâr*, &c.

† It is considered, that speaking of the defeat of Astyag by Tygranes and Kyrus, *Moses* mentions his (military) household of *ten thousand souls*, it will appear probable, that he meant the corps of 10,000 *horsemen*, become a constituent part of the military state of the Assyrians, afterwards of the Medes, next of the Persians, where they are denominated the 10,000 *immortals*. Déïokès and Kyrus only copied Ninus: from this imitative spirit, the Tartars have copied the Persians in their *Touman* of 10,000 horsemen.

Dragons: and, on the other hand, if we analyse the name of Déïôk in its Greek pronunciation, we find in it distinctly *Dohâk*, undoubtedly synonymous with *Zohâk*.

Since the Mede kings, and especially *Astyag*, have, like the Assyrians and *Sardanapal*, received from the oppressed people the name of *Zohâk* or *genius of evil*, their liberator *Feridoun* must be *Kyrus*, who, in fact, was so as well as *Arbâk*. In the narratives of *Moses* of Chorene, *Hrodan* or *Vrodan* is the same word as *Fridoun* or *Feridoun*, because, as the Armenians do not pronounce the *f*, they replace it by H, as the Spaniards do in the words *hijo*, *hazer*, *hierro*, &c., for *fijo*, *faccre*, *ferro*. What is added in another Persian tradition: that "Feridon, after conquering Zohâk, sent into *Abyssinia*, an army against *Koûs-Fil-Dendan*, that is against the *Ethiopian with ivory teeth*, brother of Zohak." This account, which bears an antique character in its expressions, cannot agree with Arbâk, and agrees very well with *Kyrus*, whose son Cambyses made war on the *Ethiopians*, whom we know to be a fraternal race of the Homerites; in fine, this dragging of Azdehâk to Mount Dembaouend, also answers Kyrus, who, according to Ktesias,* confined Astyages among the *Barcanians* or *Hyrcanians*, in whose country

* Ktesias in Photius, page 110.

Mount Dembaouend is situated: this explains an historical fact mentioned by Mirkond:—

"About* the year 1000 of our era, says he, when Mahmoud Sebecteghin destroyed the dynasty of the princes of *Gaur*, the tradition of the country was that they were descended from the children of *Zohâk*, to whom Feridon granted their lives, while he transported their father to Dembaouend."

Now Ktesias says, that Astyages,† to save *his children* and *grand-children*, gave himself up to Kyrus.

Another paradoxical fact, mentioned by a Greek writer, can be rectified by taking *Astyag* for *Zohâk*. Clitarchus, quoted by Atheneus,‡ maintained against all other historians, that *Sardanapal*, after having lost his throne, did not lose his life, but continued to an extreme old age. Elitarchus must have heard the Persians say this of *Zohâk*; and as Sardanapal is also a *Zohâk*, this author is mistaken in the application, and attributes to the last Assyrian king, what belonged to the last king of the Medes; both of them vanquished by a *Feridoun*, under very similar circumstances.

According to the ancient Persian romancers, Fe-

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* *See* d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient., at the word *Sâm ben Souri*. In general, the reader will find the traditions we have given, either in the oriental library, or in the first book of universal History, Vol IV. in 4to. in which is inserted an extract from Mirkond.

† Ktesias in Photius, page 107.

‡ Ath. deip. lib. XII. edit. of Schweighauser, Vol. IV. page 468.

ridoun, conqueror of *Zohâk*, married one of his daughters, by whom he had two sons, *Tour* and *Salem*. No such thing can be said of Arbak, with respect to Sardanapal; but, according to Ktesias, Kyrus, conqueror of *Astuigas-Azdehak*, married his daughter, and had two sons by her, *Cambyses* and Tanyo-Xarcès.* Feridon married another Persian woman, by whom he had *Iredj:* having divided the empire among them, he abdicated. We do not know of any abdication of Kyrus's; but our authors are subject to those fictions: besides, Ktesias's account has here some analogy.

"Kyrus, at his death, appointed his eldest son, *Cambyses*, his successor; at the same time he named *Tanioxarcès independent sovereign* of the Bactrians, Choramnians, Parthians, and Kermanians (that is to say, of the eastern part of his empire); and, moreover, he gave to *Astuigas's* two grand-sons, the two satrapies of the Derbiks and Barkanians."

Here is a sort of tripartile division. Ktesias† adds, that *Cambyses* put to death his brother *Tanyo-Xarcès*, and romancers say that *Iredj* was killed by his brothers. As to what they add, that Iredj gave his name to *Iran*, and *Tour* to *Tour-an*, they forget, or rather do not know that, from the

* Herodotus's account is the same; only he calls the second *Smerdis*.

† Herodotus says the same thing of *Smerdis*.

remotest antiquity, history offers Media under the name of *Aria* and *Eriéné*, and the mountainous country of the west and north, under the general name of *Taur* and *Tour;* they confound every thing, and their accounts are like a shuffled pack of cards.

Iredj's son, named *Manutchehr*, avenges his death, by carrying on against his uncles a war in which they fall: this last circumstance is like nothing we know of. As to the actions of *Manutchehr*, during his reign of fifty years, they resemble those of Dčïok and *Kyaxarès*. Phraortes is always suppressed. Manutchehr, like Dčïokès, re-establishes public order, divides the empire into provinces, creates governors, appoints chiefs of boroughs independent of the governors, for fear the latter should possess too many means of revolting: he gets canals dug in all Aderbijan, that is, over all *Media;* he erects ramparts round the cities (alluding to the ramparts of Ekbatana,) and devotes himself solely to the administration: like Kyaxarès, he is disturbed by an irruption of *Turks* (Scythians) conducted by Afrasiab: he takes refuge in the mountains near the Caspian; he is long besieged there to no purpose, and ends by driving out the Turks, after negotiating with them. He has two or three successors, *Nouder*, *Zou*, and *Kershasp*, who have only very short reigns, disturbed by Afrasiab, their obstinate enemy, the conqueror and final possessor of Persia and all *Iran*. Then arose

Ké-Qobad and the dynasty of the *Kéanians*, whom we have seen to be really only the disfigured copy of the four Mede kings of Herodotus: may not Manutchehr be the *Mandaukès* of Ktesias, pronounced in several dialects *Mandautchehr?* And his insignificant successors would be the doublings of the same Ktesias; so that the Persian system established in that author's time became the basis of these *Parthian* or *Sasanian* relations; and they really present to us the same doubling and repeating system to be seen in Ktesias. Ascending to the first king of the Pichedad dynasty, *Kéomors* seems to be a new proof of it: all that is related of him agrees with *Déiokès* and *Ké-Qobad*. First, his title of *Ké* is Median, and associates him with the *Kéanians:* next, his quality of *first king*, and his epithet of Pishdâd, that is *giver of just* (laws), particularly characterize the first Median king of Herodotus.

" According to Kondemir,* *Kéomors* was born in *Aderbidjan*, that is to say, in Media; it was there, and not in Persia, that he resided and reigned. He was the son of a private person: the inhabitants of the country experiencing the bad effects of *anarchy*, resolved to appoint an *only chief*, whose will should be the general law. The virtues of *Kéomors* made him be chosen: he was invested with the royal mantle, and the *Tâdj* (dia-

* *See* Universal History, in 4to. Vol. IV. page 5, and following.

dem) was placed upon his head. He was the *first* king whose feet they kissed. He *erected tribunals* of justice; he ordained *the construction of villages*, and that men should live in society; he invented or (introduced) manufactures of linen, cloth, and cotton. The happiness his subjects enjoyed, engaged his neighbours, successively, to acknowledge him also for their king. *Several assure us that he was also of the religion of the Magi.*"

Is not all this exactly what Herodotus already told us* of Déïokès? The last phrase, absurd in the Persian system, which makes Zerdoust be born several ages later, is, on the contrary, in our system, both luminous and true.

Henceforth, it would be superfluous to analyze the four successors of Kéomors, one of whom, killed in battle, resembles Phraortès; it suffices to have demonstrated that these pretended ancient histories, compiled by the modern Persians, are only distorted copies of the same original histories transmitted to us by the Greek writers, more near in point of time, and more reasonable: there happened here, in a moral sense, what takes place in the physical one, when, from a primitive picture or portrait, several copies are taken one from another, by unskilful hands: at the second, the resemblance begins to disappear, and at the third or fourth, the model can only be recognized by a few

* *See* Vol. I. page 377, and Vol. II. page 120.

of the principal features. Notwithstanding the extravagant admiration which the love of what is new or marvellous has created among some passionate advocates of oriental literature, we can venture to assert that, particularly in the historical line, the fruits to be derived from it are far om repaying the trouble it costs. Our conclusion is not that we should entirely neglect it; we are on the contrary of opinion, that we are particularly indebted to those who work so painful and unprofitable a mine; but we add, that it is necessary, in the choice of materials, to have a very different way of thinking from the *true believers*, to whom the art of criticism is unknown. The following article, where we treat of the *Babylonians*, by furnishing us at each step an opportunity of exercising that art, will furnish us with additional proofs of its importance.

Chronological List of the Kings of Judah.

	Years.	*Before J. C.*
Saul reigns	20	1078
David	40	1058
Solomon	40	1018
Rehoboam	17	978
Abijah	3	961
Asa	41	958
Jehosaphat	25	918
Joram	8	892
Ahaziah	1	884
Athaliah	6	883
Joash	39	877
Amaziah	29	838
Uzziah reigns alone	(42)	809
(Menahem, king of Samaria)		771
Jotham reigns alone 6 years, and in Uzziah's life-time 10	16	767
Ahaz	16	751
Hezekiah	29	735
Manasseh	55	706
Amon	(12)	651
Josiah	31	638
Jehoahaz ... 3 months, end of the year		609
Jehoiakim		598
Jehoiachin, 3 months, end of the year		597
Zedekiah ... 10 years 5 months		587
Destruction of Jerusalem		586
Burning of the Temple		

Chronological List of the Chaldean Kings of Babylon.

	Years.	*Before J. C.*
Nabon-Asar	14	747
Nadius	2	733
Xôzirus and Porus	5	731
Ilulaïus	5	726
Mardok-empad (Belesis) . . .	12	721
Arkeanus	5	709
First interregnum	2	704
Belibus (or Belithus)	3	702
Apro-nadius	6	699
Rigebelus	1	693
Mosêsi-mordak	4	692
Second interregnum	8	688
Asaridius, or Asaradinus . . .	13	680
Sogdoxenus	20	667
Kiniladanus	22	647
Nabopolasar	21	625
Nabokol-asar, or Nebuchadnezzar	43	604
Ilouarodam	2	561
Nirikassolasar	4	559
Nabonadius	17	555
Kyrus		538

END OF THE SECOND PART.

NEW

Researches

ON

ANCIENT HISTORY.

PART III.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BABYLONIANS AND EGYPTIANS.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BABYLONIANS.

THE *Chronology*, that is to say, the succession of historical facts among the Babylonians, has ever been considered, by learned critics, as one of the most difficult and obscure subjects of ancient history: the reader will be convinced of it by the number and complexedness of the difficulties we are going to examine; we hope his patience will find some indemnity in the conciseness of our labour, in the evidence and even novelty of our results.

Let us begin by the foundation of Babylon, concerning the epoch of which ancient authors differ

in opinion, as we learn from Quintus Curcius* in this phrase: "Babylon was built by Semiramis, or, as is generally thought, by Belus, whose palace is to be seen there."

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION OF BABYLON.

In fact, the first of these opinions is, or seems to be, that of Ktesias, or of the Assyrian books, from which that author borrows, and which attribute the foundation of that great city to Semiramis, with details bearing the peculiar stamp of local and even official information: nevertheless, the Babylonian priest, Berosus, a man of great learning, who came only a century after Ktesias, did not hesitate, in his *History of the Chaldaic Antiquities*, presented to king Antiochus, to contradict the Greek historian, and to assert that Babylon had been founded by Belus, god or king of the country, many centuries before Semiramis, and this by invoking and quoting the traditions and public monuments of his nation. Herodotus, from whom we ought here to expect some information, affords us none; but another judicious and often well-informed historian, Am-

* Quintus Curcius, Lib. V. cap. *i.*

mianus Marcellinus, who could and should have read Berosus and Ktesias, appears to give us the solution of the question when he says:* "Semiramis surrounded Babylon with walls, but the citadel had been already built by the very ancient king Belus. This middle term, which reconciles the two opinions, is moreover confirmed by a phrase of Ktesias that has not been sufficiently remarked. This historian says:—

"When Ninus attacked Babylonia, the city of Babylon, *that exists to-day*, was not yet built." Do not these words *Babylon quæ nunc est*, mean that there had existed another; and if, as Berosus attests, the ancient Belus had long been the tutelar divinity of the country; if, as is allowed, the oriental name *Babel*, for Babylon, signifies the *Port*, that is to say, the *palace of Bel*, or *Belus*, there must have then existed a primitive *Babel*, or *Babylon*, which Semiramis included in her vast constructions, and adorned, as shall be seen: thus it is for want of clearly ascertaining the signification of the word *foundation*, that the ancients disputed in the present instance as in so many others. Let us acquire an exact idea of this word.

In general, those great assemblages of houses called *cities*, originated in two different ways:— First, the first in the slow and progressive concurrence of inhabitants whom motives of common

* Lib. XXIII. page 351. *De Bello Persico.*

defence, the facility of commerce, or the conveniences of life, allured and fixed around a first centre of habitation: to this first kind of city, there is no assigning a *founder*, or epoch of *foundation*.

The second manner consists in the sudden concurrence of settlers, whom their own will, or that of a government, induces or compells to build a city, as a private person builds a house; to this belongs and applies the name of *foundation*, because the date is as precise as the fact is remarkable.

But if, as often happens, the place chosen for such a *foundation* had already a prior habitation, whether village or borough;* if even there already existed there a city of the first kind, that is having no *known founder*, now ruined by war or other accidents, this second foundation may be liable to controversy, because the prior habitation supposes an original *foundation*, after which there can only be *restoration*. In fine, if princes or kings should, through vanity, make or pretend to make such *foundations*, to give their names to cities already having a *known founder*; if people or their municipal agents should, through *adulation*, provoke such fictitious foundations, it is easy to conceive that the name and the thing would fall into such confusion as would be very difficult to clear up.

* For instance, the fort of Rhacotis, where the kings of Egypt maintained a garrison on the spot where Alexandria was built. *See* Strabo, Lib. XVII. page 792.

Such has been the case with a number of ancient cities, especially in the countries we are speaking of, in *Asia Minor*, in *Mesopotamia*, in *Syria*, &c., where geographers find a number of cities *founded*, that is, *rebuilt*, repaired by Greek kings, by Roman emperors whose names were given them, though nevertheless it is certain they existed long before, and had consequently a first, true *foundation*, whether known or unknown.

Applying this reason to Babylon, we are of opinion that Ktesias and the Perso-Assyrian books were authorized to say that Semiramis *founded* that great city, because in fact it appears she built, from their *foundations*, the walls and gigantic works which even, in their decline, astonished the army of *Alexander*.* The assent of the best authors, of the geographer Strabo among others, who had in his possession all the papers of the process, leaves no doubt upon the subject; but, on the other hand, Berosus appears to us equally well-founded in asserting that, long before Semiramis, there existed a *Babel* or *Babylon*, that is, a palace, a temple of the god *Bel*, from which the country derived its name of *Babylonia*, and whose temple, according to the custom of ancient Asia, was the rallying-point, the pilgrimage, the metropolis of all the population subjected to its laws; at the same time that this

* Three hundred and thirty years before our era; eight centuries and a half after the foundation.

temple was the asylum, the fortress of the priests of the nation, and the antique and no doubt original seminary of those astronomical studies, that judiciary astrology, which rendered those priests so celebrated under the name of *Chaldeans*, at an epoch whose antiquity can no longer be measured. Ktesias himself, and his Perso-Assyrian books, furnish an argument in support of this opinion; for since Ninus, more than thirty years before Semiramis, found an *agricultural and pacific* people, consequently industrious and rich; since he found a king, a court, and several *fine cities*, there must have then existed a *powerfnl kingdom*, a civilized state, and all that results from it. Ktesias does not give us the limits of this kingdom; but since, among the ancients as well as moderns, kingdoms reduced into *provinces*, preserved the limits they had before conquered; since *Babylonia*, before the Persian kings Darius and Kyrus, was already represented as extending from the desert of Syria to the mountains of Persia, and from the Persian Gulf to the north of the country * of *Arbela*, these may be looked on as its limits in Ninus's time; consequently, that kingdom had a surface of three thousand square leagues, of a soil whose fertility was compared by the ancients to that of Egypt, and which might therefore support a population of

* *See* Ktesias's account in Diodorus, a literal translation of which is given in the Chronology of Herodotus, page 97. Compare also Strabo, Lib. XVI. at the commencement.

near three millions of inhabitants; finally, if the Babylonian nation is described to us as having ever been divided into four *casts*, after the manner of Egypt and India, which division is of itself a proof of great antiquity, we have a right to say that before *Ninus* there existed the cast of Chaldean priests, similar in every respect to those of the Indian *Brahmins;* which supposes all the political system indicated in the account of our two historians.

As to the further pretensions of Berosus, who endeavours to take from Semiramis, the Assyrian queen, the construction of the *great works* of Babylon to give it to *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Chaldean king, we shall examine, by an exact discussion of the original texts, what foundation this opinion can have; and if it cannot be naturally attributed to the national antipathy of a Babylonian against a foreign people, the oppressors of his country, or to the systematical partiality of a Chaldean priest, educated in the reforming school of *Nabonasar*, that burner of the historical books of the kings who preceded him, let us first hear the account given in the Assyrian books mentioned by Ktesias, containing very interesting and circumstancial details. This historian, at the end of the fragment preserved by Diodorus, continues thus the history of Ninus and of his wife.*

* Diod. Sicul., Lib. II. page 120, edit. of Wesseling.

CHAPTER II.

KTESIAS'S ACCOUNT.—ASSYRIAN SYSTEM.

"AFTER the death of Ninus, Semiramis, passionately fond of every thing that had an air of grandeur, and ambitious of surpassing the glory of the kings who preceded her, conceived the project of building an extraordinary city in Babylonia. For that purpose, she collected from all quarters a multitude of architects and artists of every kind, and prepared great sums of money, and all the necessary materials; having afterwards made in the whole of her empire a levy of *two millions of men*, she employed them in forming the enclosure of the city by a wall of 360 stades in length,* flanked by a great many towers, taking care to leave the course of the Euphrates in the middle of the ground. Such was the magnificence of her work, that the breadth of the walls was sufficient for the passage of six chariots abreast. As to the height, no body will believe Ktesias, who says it was fifty orgyes. Clitarchus, and the writers who followed Alexander, assign it only fifty cubits; adding, that the breadth was a little more than that of *two chariots* abreast.

* We shall examine, in a separate article, the value of these measures.

These authors say that the circuit was 365 stades, because Semiramis wished to imitate the *number of days* in the year. These walls were made of raw brick, cemented with bitumen. The towers, of a proportionate heighth and breadth, amounted only to 250, which for so great a distance would be surprising, if it was not considered that on some of its faces, the city is flanked with marshes, which rendered other means of defence superfluous; between the walls and houses, the space left free was *two plethres* broad; Semiramis, to accelerate the work, imposed on each of her favourites (or most devoted servants), the task of one stade, with all the necessary means, and the additional condition to have finished in *a year*. This preliminary operation being terminated and approved of by the queen, she chose the spot where the Euphrates was narrowest, and constructed there a bridge five stades in length; by ingenious methods they laid in the bed of the river piers twelve feet distant, the stones of which were bound by strong claws or hooks of iron, sealed themselves with melted lead poured into their mortises; the fore-beak of their piers had the form of an angle which, dividing the water, made it flow smoother on the oblique flanks, and thereby moderated the effort of the current against the thick part of the masonry-work. On these piers, they extended beams of cedar and cypress, with large trunks of palm-trees; which produced a bridge thirty feet broad, whose ingenious

mechanism was not surpassed by any other of Semiramis's works. The queen afterwards got constructed, at a great expense, on both banks of the river, a quay, whose wall, as broad as that of the city, was 160 stades in length. Opposite the two entries of the bridge, she erected two castles flanked with towers, from whence she could discover all the city and transport herself, as from a centre, wherever her presence should be necessary; as the Euphrates runs through the city from north to south, these castles were situate one on the east, the other on the west of the river. These two works occasioned a great expense; for the western castle had a triple circuit of high strong walls, the first of which, constructed of burnt bricks, was sixty stades in circumference; the second, within the former, described a circle of forty stades: its wall was fifty orgyes high by 300 *bricks* broad, and the towers were seventy orgyes in height. On the unburnt bricks were moulded animals of all kinds, coloured so as to represent living nature. In fine, a third interior wall, forming the citadel, was twenty stades in circumference, and surpassed the second wall in breadth or thickness and length.* Semiramis also executed another prodigious work: it was to dig, in a low ground, a great square basin or

* Here is an evident absurdity. *The smallest interior wall longer than the external one that includes it!* We should certainly read, *surpassed in breadth and height.*

reservoir, thirty-five feet deep, and each of whose sides, 300 stades in length, was lined with a wall of burnt bricks, fastened with bitumen. When this work was finished, they turned the river into this basin, and immediately constructed, in haste, in its bed, left dry, a gut or covered gallery, extending from one castle to the other. The vault of this gut, formed of burnt brick and bitumen, was four cubits thick: the two supporting walls had a thickness of twenty bricks, and under the inner curve, a height of twelve feet: the breadth of this gut within was fifteen feet. All this work was performed in seven days; after which, the river, resuming its course, Semiramis could cross over dry-footed under the water, from one to the other of her castles. She placed at both entrances to this gallery brazen gates, both of which subsisted until the time of the kings of Persia, successors of Kyrus.

"Lastly, she built in the midst of the city, the temple of Jupiter, to whom the Babylonians give the name of Belus. Historians not agreeing concerning this edifice, which besides is in ruins, we can say nothing positive about it: only it appears that it was excessively lofty, and that it was by means of it that the Chaldeans, addicted to the observation of the stars, acquired an exact knowledge of their *risings* and *settings* (Diodorus describes this temple built of brick and bitumen). Now time has destroyed all these works: only a

part of this vast city has some houses inhabited; all the rest consists of land that is ploughed. There was also what was called the *hanging garden;* but this work was not Semiramis's: it was a certain Syrian king who, in later times, built it for one of his concubines born in Persia. This woman wishing to have verdant hills, persuaded the king to construct this fictitious landscape, in imitation of the natural views of Persia. Each side of this garden was four plethres long," &c.

Such is the account of Ktesias, or of the ancient books he consulted. The exaggeration of certain details diminishes very much our confidence in them; but, besides, that the limits of the possible and the true are not so easily traced as has been supposed, we shall have further occasion, in another article, to prove, that the apparent exaggeration principally proceeds from the false values attributed to the measures called *stades*, *plethres*, *orgyes*, and *cubits;* for the present we shall only remark, that in general the circumstances have a local physiognomy, which give the principal facts a great appearance of truth,* and that, according to the rules

* The circumstance of *two millions* of men constrained to labour, suggests an observation: this assemblage of men, differing in complexion, in the forms of their clothes, in their manner of acting, worship, and especially language, must have been a strange sight. More than eighty dialects must have been spoken in the vast empire of Semiramis. Asia re-echoes the account of this romantic fact, embroidered by the Arabian imagination: perhaps, it has given rise to

of historical criticism, this account proves really that the *foundation* of Babylon belongs to Semiramis in the strict sense of the word, since that queen created the greater works that constitute a city, to which works Babylon was solely indebted for the commercial splendour and the military force that rendered it so celebrated.

On recapitulating these works, we find seven principal ones.

First, The great wall of enclosure and fortification 360 stades in length;

Second. A quay, constructed on either bank of the river;

Third. The bridge composed of stone-piers and beams extended on these piers;

Fourth. Two castles placed at the issues of the bridge;

Fifth. A vast square basin or lake of 360 stades on each side;

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the fable of the confusion of languages, that happened to the constructors of the Tower of Babel, as we have already mentioned, Part I. We add, that it is probably also the source of the vicious origin given by the Jews to the word *Babylon*. According to them, *Babyl* signifies *confusion:* this is to be found in no dictionary of the Hebrew, Arabian, &c. But, as in Hebrew, the word *confusio (turba mixta hominum)* is expressed by the word *Arab*, and that the natives of Babel were *Arabs*, it is probable, that the signification of one word was transferred to the other, especially when the law commanded the Jews not to pronounce the name of the strange gods, from which Babel was derived: *Bab-bel, Palace of Bel.* The Phenician city, called by the Greeks *Bybl-os*, more ancient than Semiramis, is named in oriental language, *Babel:* will it be said, that there also a *confusion* of languages took place?

Sixth, A gut or gallery under the river;

Seventh, The temple of Belus in the form of a pyramid, which they ascended by a winding passage.

CHAPTER III.

ACCOUNT OF BEROSUS AND MEGASTHENES.—KALDEAN SYSTEM.

It is natural to think, that before the publication of Ktesias's history, the Greeks had little or no knowledge of the works and name of Semiramis: this author must therefore be considered as the leader of those who attribute to that queen the foundation of Babylon, and this opinion must have been predominant till the time of Alexander; but when the conquest of Asia by this prince, and when his residence at Babylon, which he was so fond of, had enabled the learned men of Greece to communicate with the priests of the country, with the *Chaldeans*, so celebrated in the sciences, another native and Babylonian opinion arose, contrary to that of the Assyrians of Nineveh. The first trace is discovered in a fragment of Megasthenes, a Greek historian, contemporary with Seleucus-Nicator, king of Babylon, until the year 282 before Jesus Christ, who sent Megasthenes, as his ambassador, to Sandracottus, one of the kings of India

residing at Palybothra.* Eusebius, in his Evangelical Preparation, has preserved the following passage. Book IX. chap. xli. page 457.

" Babylon was built by Nebuchadnezzar: *at the commencement* (in principio) *the whole country was covered with water*, and was called *a sea*;† but the *god* Belus *having drained the land, and assigned limits to each element*, surrounded Babylon with walls, and afterwards disappeared. ‡ At a later period, the enclosure distinguished by its brazen gates, was constructed by Nebuchadnezzar; it subsisted until the time of the Macedonians." Some phrases after, Megasthenes adds:—

" Nebuchadnezzar become king, in the space of *fifteen days* surrounded the city of Babylon with a triple wall, and turned aside the canals called *Armakale* and *Akrakan*, coming from the Euphrates; afterwards, in favour of the city of *Siparis*, he dug a lake twenty orgyes in depth and forty parasangs in circumference. In it he constructed sluices, or flood-gates, called *regulators of riches*, for the irrigation of their fields: he also prevented the inundations of the Persian gulf, by opposing them with

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* This king is to be found in the Sanscrit lists of the modern Indians, under the name of *Tchandra-Goupta*, successor of *Nanda*.

† *Bahr*, in Arabian, which signifies at the same time *sea* and *great river*, any *great expanse of waters*.

‡ This account has a remarkable analogy with the beginning of Genesis.

dykes, and the irruptions of the Arabs, by constructing the fortress of *Teredon*. He ornamented his palace, by erecting a hanging garden, which he covered with trees."

Very soon after Megasthenes, a learned man of Babylon, Berosus,* born of a sacerdotal family,

* The epoch of Berosus is contested, and yet the question appears easily resolved by a rational criticism. Tatian, one of the most learned christians of the second century of our era, speaking of Berosus, bears this testimony in his favor: "Berosus is the most learned of the writers (on Asia), and as a proof, I shall cite the preference which king Juba, speaking of the Assyrians, declares he gives to the history of this writer who had composed two books concerning the actions and exploits of the Assyrians." (*Oratio contra Græcos*, page 293.)*

As to his age, Tatian says: "Berosus, a Babylonian priest, was born at Babylon under Alexander; he dedicated to Antiochus, third from that prince, his history divided into three books, in which, speaking of the actions of the kings of Babylon, he mentions one among others called *Nebuchadnezzar*," &c.

Now reasoning on this passage: If Berosus was born under Alexander, we must understand Alexander, king in Babylon, consequently about the year 330. But the Latin translator of Tatian took the liberty to alter the Greek text by saying: *Berosus was contemporary with Alexander* (Alexandro æqualis, though the Greek *kata Alexandrôn gegnos* signifies literally *born in Alexander's time*). Syncellus, as was his custom, had already altered this phrase by saying, page 29: *Berosus, in his first book of the Babylonicks, boasts of having spent his youth under Alexander* (Genestaï tên Elikian), and the translator of Syncellus (Goar) has also altered it by saying: *parem se Alexandro jactat.*

* The testimony of the historian Josephus, is no less advantageous to Berosus, and these authorities are much preferable to the opinion of the superficial author of the article *Berosus*, in the Dictionary of great men.

professed the same opinion; and, because his astrological predictions and writings of various kinds

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In fine, this same Syncellus, always incorrect, deviates still further from the sense in another passage, when he says, page 14: *Berosus, in his Chaldaic Antiquities, relates that he flourished under Alexander.*

From not having made these corrections, several supposed, that Berosus was really a man of twenty-five or thirty under Alexander, and then it became impossible to reconcile a passage of Pliny, who says, Book VII. chap. xi. " Epigenes assures, that the Babylonians had observations of 720 years date, written on burnt bricks; but *Berosus* and Critodemus reduce this duration to 480 years (according to some manuscripts, and 490 according to others)."

From this passage it is argued and said, that: " since Nabonasar according to Berosus) destroyed all historical monuments prior to his reign, the observations that preceded him must have been destroyed: those spoken of must, therefore, date from the first year of Nabonasar, which is the year 747 before our era: from 747, deduct Berosus's 480, you have 268. This year was the fifteenth of Antiochus-Soter, who succeeded to Seleucus-Nicator in 282. But if *Antiochus-Theos* who was *Soter's* successor and third from Alexander, did not reign until 262, how could Berosus dedicate to him his book? We answer, that being born under Alexander about 330, Berosus, in the year 268, was nearly sixty-three or sixty-four years of age, which is a reasonable time of life; whereas, the thing would be almost impossible in the other hypothesis, according to which, he must have been eighty-five or ninety. If the reading 490 be preferred to 480, the dedication falls on the year 258, and Berosus was seventy-four, which is still possible, but not so probable; and, nevertheless, he might dedicate his book to Antiochus-Theos, *prince-royal*, in the year 268, just as well as to Antiochus-Theos, *king* in 258: thus the balance of probabilities is more favorable to the reading 480: we say nothing of the 720 years of Epigenes, because the epoch of this author is unknown. As to the systematical correction which requires to add a *thousand*, and to read 480 *thousand years*, it is supported neither by the manuscripts, nor by the text of Pliny, who, when he concluded that the use of letters is eternal, had in view their discovery under *Phoroneus*, and under the most ancient kings of Greece, without taking into account that this writer is not always consistent."

rendered him so celebrated, that the Athenians erected a statue for him with a golden tongue, we suppose that it is to him we are to attribute the ascendancy which this new opinion acquired, according to the expression of Quintus-Curcius, *among most historians* (vel ut plerique credidêre).

Berosus's interesting work, entitled *Chaldaic Antiquities*, being lost, it is to the Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, that we are indebted for the fragments relative to this question. Here are his words *(Contra App.*, Lib. I. § 19).

"As to what the Chaldean monuments say of our nation, we have the testimony of Berosus, born himself a Chaldean, a man well known to all those who cultivate letters, on account of the writings which in favour of the Greeks he published in their own idiom, concerning the astronomy and philosophy of the Chaldeans.

Berosus, therefore, who copied the oldest Chaldean histories, *presents absolutely the same accounts as Moses* of the deluge, of the destruction of mankind resulting from it; of the ark in which Noah, father of our race, was saved; of the manner in which it touched on the mountains of Armenia; he afterwards enumerates Noah's descendants; assigns the time of each, and comes down to* Nabopolasar, king of the *Chaldeans* and of *Babylon.*"

* These expressions are very remarkable.

Here Josephus relates in detail, after Berosus, how Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopol-asar, having beaten the king of Egypt *Necho*, was suddenly called off from his conquests by his father's death; how, on receiving the news, he crossed the desert of Syria by forced marches, to arrive at Babylon; how, invested with the royal authority *as his inheritance*, he distributed his Syrian, Phenecian and Jewish prisoners in various parts of Babylonia, to be employed there in different works, and he adds, in Berosus's own words:*

"Nebuchadnezzar, after having enriched the temple of Belus and of some other gods, after *repairing the city of Babylon, which existed already*, and adding to it a city (or *new* citadel), wished to prevent those who should besiege it from penetrating into it by turning the river: to that effect, *he constructed a triple circuit of walls, both for the outer and inner city*, partly in burnt bricks and bitumen, partly in brick alone: when the city was well fortified, and adorned with magnificent gates (of brass), he built near his father's palace another palace, loftier, larger, and more sumptuous. It would be too long to describe it; suffice it to say, that this great work was finished in fifteen days: now in this palace was also constructed by him the famous garden called *hanging garden*, in

* These same terms occur, except about twenty words, in Syncellus, page 220. and he probably copied them from Josephus.

compliance with the request of his wife, who, having been educated in *Media*, desired to have in view a *mountainous landscape*."

Here, continues Josephus, is what Berosus says of Nebuchadnezzar, of whom he also speaks often in his third book of the *Chaldean Antiquities*, where he reprimands the Greek historians, who *believe inconsiderately* that Babylon was *erected by the Assyrian Semiramis*, and who *write falsely* that it is she who constructed *all* the marvellous works of that great city.

Now let us scrutinize this account: if we judge only by these last words (who write falsely) Berosus seems positively to contradict all that Ktesias relates of Semiramis; but it must be observed, that this is no longer Berosus's text; it is Josephus who speaks and argues on some passages not come down to us; besides, even if it were Berosus, we could oppose it by a former text of his, where he says: *Nebuchadnezzar enriched the temple of Belus, and of some other gods.* If he only *enriched them*, they must have already existed: if he had built them, Berosus would not have failed to tell us so. *Nebuchadnezzar repairing the city which existed already:* here is a sentence entirely in favour of Ktesias. The city owed its existence only to its walls; Nebuchadnezzar *repaired* them, because, having been built 600 years, they had suffered degradations. In fine, to say with Berosus that it is false that Semiramis built all the wonder-

ful works of Babylon, does not say that she built none; the honour of the foundation remains with her, and it is Megasthenes who is here convicted of error, when he says: *Babylon was built by Nebuchadnezzar. The circuit distinguished by brazen gates, was constructed by that same prince.* It is very true that the brazen gates were placed by that prince, who employed in them, besides other brass, that taken away from the temple of Jerusalem. But the wall existed, Nebuchadnezzar only repaired it; and it is no doubt but it was this association of gates placed, and walls repaired, that deceived Megasthenes. But to proceed:—

"Nebuchadnezzar, to prevent the enemy, in case of siege, from penetrating into the city by *turning* the river."

The means of turning existed therefore also, and supposes the construction of the great basin of Semiramis.*

"Nebuchadnezzar constructed a *triple* inclosure as well for the *interior* as for the *external* city."

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* Megasthenes calls this canal of derivation, *arma kalé;* Pliny calls it *amalchar*, and says this word signifies *royal river* in the Chaldean language: we say, that in the language *royal river* is expressed by *nahrmaleka*, which by no means resembles *am-al-char*, but is somewhat like *ar-makalé* altered by transcribers, who forgot the *n* in *nar*, and inverted μαναλε for μαλαχε: nahr-malaké: the am-al-char of Pliny is an Arabian word, signifying *mother of abundance*, of *riches, om-el-chair*. As to nahr-malaké, it signifies also *Queen's River*, and applies very well to Semiramis.

For a city like Babylon, of more than twenty-four thousand fathoms in circumference, to suppose a *triple* enclosure is an absurdity that no writer ever spoke of: here the text must certainly have been altered. Ktesias told us that Semiramis built two strong castles or citadels, one to the east, the other to the west of the river, and that the western castle had a *triple* enclosure; this must be the object meant by Berosus: he gave the name of *city* to these two fortresses, and called *external* that situate on the west of the Euphrates,* because, being in the *Arabian desert*, it was really out of Babylonia Proper; while the *eastern* castle, situate in the island formed by the Euphrates and Tigris, was placed in the *interior* of the country. Admitting these castles to have been erected by Semiramis near six centuries before, their walls must have been the more ruined, as the kings of Nineveh, suspicious and jealous, neglected this means of defence of a great discontented city: Nebuchadnezzar probably *repaired* the walls of the great enclosure; and added a *triple* wall to the *eastern* castle, which had only one. Berosus thus explained, seems to assert that Nebuchadnezzar built them entirely; but if his object was to oppose an obstacle to an enemy who had already penetrated, the prudent Semiramis must have conceived the same idea.

In fine, Berosus says, that Nebuchadnezzar con-

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* *See* the plan of Babylon. Chap. VII.

structed for himself a palace larger and more sumptuous than his father's; that in this castle was erected the famous *hanging garden*, and that all this work lasted only fifteen days. Ktesias agrees as to the work; but as to the time, Megasthenes pretends that it was *Babylon itself which Nebuchadnezzar surrounded with a triple wall in the space of fifteen days.* Here we perceive an evident confusion committed by this writer, who applies to the city what Berosus says of the castle, and this example shews us the probability of an inverse confusion, but of the same nature, committed either by Josephus, or by Berosus himself, or by his copiers.

Recapitulating this article, it appears to us that the real works of Nebuchadnezzar are,

First. The palace of the hanging garden, which every body allows him.

Second. The fortress of Teredon.

Third. The sluices and dykes against the reflux of the Persian gulf.

Fourth. The basin and flood-gates in favour of the city of Siparis.

Fifth. The reparation of the walls of the great enclosure of Babylon.

Sixth. The application of brazen gates to these walls.

Seventh. The reparation of the castle with a triple enclosure, and the re-construction of the eastern castle on a similar plan.

There still remains for Semiramis.

First. The original and fundamental construction of the great wall of 360 stades.

Second. The quay along the Euphrates.

Third. The sub-fluvial gut, or gallery.

Fourth. The two castles at the issues of this gallery, and of the bridge.

Fifth. The great basin of derivation.

Sixth. Lastly, the power or pyramid of the temple of Belus.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RESPECTIVE AUTHORITIES OF BEROSUS AND KTESIAS, COMPARED AND APPRECIATED.

In the conflict between Berosus and Ktesias, of which we have been witnesses, a difficulty occurs. How is it conceivable, it may be said, that the notions of a native Babylonian, a Chaldean priest, concerning the foundation of his metropolis, should be less exact than those of the Persian, Mede, or Assyrian strangers, from whom Ktesias borrowed his documents? Two considerations will make us easily conceive this.

The first is, that, with respect to the Babylonians, the Ninevites were usurpers, whose yoke must have been odious and galling; Semiramis must

personally have left a memory infamous for the assassination of the king her husband, for the notoriety of her debauchery, for the vexations of her immense works; and opinion might refuse her *the honours of the foundation*, were it only through respect for the god Belus, to whom tradition attributed the entire organization of the country.

The second is, that the Babylonian king, *Nabon-Asar*, *having suppressed all the acts of his predecessors, in order that from thenceforth the list of the kings of Babylon should commence by him*, there could have been preserved in that city and country no *ancient archive*, *no official document* concerning the foundation by Semiramis. Therefore Berosus could have no national means of ascending historically beyond the reign of Nabonasar, that is, beyond the year 747; and it is on this account that the observations collected by Berosus, as we learn from Pliny, did not go further than 480 years (see note, page 166) before the publication of his book, in 268; in fact, add 268 to 480, you obtain just the year 747, the first of Nabonasar. Berosus was politically forbidden to know any thing beyond it, as the Persian writers, after *Ardeschir*, were forbidden to know the real time and true number of the kings, who intervened between Alexander and that prince.

Reciprocally, we find in favour of Ktesias, a circumstance which had at first escaped us, and which equity requires of us to rectify here. This circum-

stance is contained in a passage of the Book of Ezra, from which the inference is that the archives mentioned by Ktesias as the source whence he borrowed, were really *Assyrian archives*, either in the original, or translated by the Persians: here is the passage of Ezra.

"In the reign of Artahshatah (in the time of Smerdis) the Samaritans wishing to hinder the Jews from re-building the temple, wrote to the king the following letter, in the Armenian or Syriac tongue.

"Be it known unto you that the Jews, sent up by the king (Kyrus) unto Jerusalem, wish now to set up the walls thereof; and be it known unto the king, that if the Jews rebuild this city, in all times rebellious, they will not pay tribute: we, servants of the king, who have *eaten the salt* and *bread* of his house, we certify him of it, and beseech that search may be made in the *Book* of the Records of the fathers (because) thou shalt find in the *Book of Records*, that this city is in all times a rebellious city, hurtful unto kings, and they have moved sedition within the same of old time; for which cause was this city destroyed."

Now here is the answer sent by the king:—

"The extract (or rather translation) of the letter which ye sent unto us, hath been read before me: and I commanded, and search hath been made, and it is found, that this city, of old time, hath made insurrection against kings; that rebellion

hath been made therein; that there have been in Jerusalem mighty kings, which have ruled over all the country of the Euphrates, and that the royal tribute was paid unto them."

Now we assert, that these *mighty kings of Jerusalem, who ruled as far as the Euphrates*, can only be understood of David and Solomon, who, in fact, ruled and exacted tribute there during fifty or sixty years. After Solomon, the kingdom having been divided into two small states, the petty kings of Samaria and Jerusalem not only exacted tribute no longer, but were often subjected to it. Now in the time of David and Solomon, that is to say, from the year 1040 until about 980 before our era, the Persians and Medes, subjected to the Assyrians of Nineveh, governed by the satraps of the *great king*, and separated from the Euphrates by all Babylonia and Mesopotamia, had neither means of communication, nor an interest to know what was going on in Syria: they could not even have had permission to keep registers, *royal archives*, as they are represented to us: the books alluded to by Smerdis are therefore neither Mede nor Persian; they cannot even be Babylonian, because they precede the epoch of Nabonasar, who burnt them all: consequently, they can only be *Ninevite-Assyrian* ones. Will it be objected that *Sardanapal having burnt his palace*, the royal archives should have been consumed there? This inference is not conclusive, especially when we consider that the *séraï*

of the kings of Nineveh *was a mysterious house of pleasure from which all business was excluded:* consequently the chancery, that gives access to many people, must naturally have been placed elsewhere: at all events, we have here a positive proof that in the time of Smerdis there existed in Persia *official books*, relating events that happened more than 500 years before, that is, at an epoch when there existed neither royalty, nor a royal chancery, among the Medes and Persians; whence it follows that these were *Ninevite Assyrian* books, either in the original, or by extract (like our Jewish Chronicles) or else in a Mede translation, which the kings of that people, pretending to be the *heirs of the Assyrians*, might have got done for their instruction. Such a translation in the *Zend* idiom, which differs from the Assyrian, explains why several alterations crept into it: besides, it is remarkable, that in Chapter VI. of the same Ezra, Book I. on account of a petition from the Jews, king Darius having made a search for the decree of Kyrus in the archives, it is said: "By Darius's order, search was made in the *house of the rolls* (the library) which is adjacent to the wardrobe, and to where the treasures were laid up in Babylon, and there was found in the castle (or palace) that is in the province of the Medes (at Ekbatana) a roll thus written *In the year of Kyrus the king*," &c. &c.

Thus, *search was made at Babylon in the archives, and nothing was found;* but it was found

at *Ekbatana*: is it not probable that it was there also that the Book mentioned by Smerdis was found? and in that case have we not a sort of proof that the Assyrian monuments had been collected by Déïokès, or by his successors, resident at Ekbatana?

Reasoning on those facts, we think we discover the existence of two chronological systems in opposition before Kyrus, with respect to Babylon. One, the *Assyrian system*, transmitted to us by Ktesias, and which appears to have predominated until the fall of the Persian empire; the other, the *Chaldean system*, first concentered in Babylonia, but which, in consequence of Alexander's conquest, and the residence of the Macedonian kings in Chaldea, obtained a preference, for which it was partly indebted to the talents and works of Berosus in the Greek idiom, and partly to the extreme difficulty of the *Zend* language, and to the destruction of its books in the wars of the Macedonians and Persians.

CHAPTER V.

HERODOTUS'S ACCOUNT.

Now let us consult Herodotus, and see what light he will give us in this discussion.

This writer, towards the end of his first Book, coming to the war of Kyrus against Babylon, gives us, according to his custom, many details concerning the climate, productions, and manners of the country. As to the historical facts, he is more concise than usual, and this laconism is with us a motive to weigh his words with greater attention.

" Assyria, (says he) has several Greek cities; but the most celebrated and the strongest is Babylon, which, after the overthrow of Nineveh, became the capital of the Assyrians."

Here Herodotus describes the square enclosure of Babylon, the dimensions of its walls, the direction of the streets, the king's palace, and the temple of *Joupiter-Belus; which*, he says, *still subsists.* " *The Chaldeans, who are the priests of this deity, assure us that he comes in person into the chapel on a certain day of the year, and reposes on the bed prepared for him, where he is received by a woman of the country. There was formerly in the sanctuary a statue of massy gold, twelve cubits high; but I have not seen it: king Xercès carried it off after killing the priest who opposed him.*"

These words, *I have not seen it*, shew clearly that Herodotus speaks here as an *eye-witness;* that he *conversed with the Chaldean priests;* that he acquired all his information on the spot; and, consequently, that he followed the *Chaldean system*, like Berosus, and not the *Assyrian system*, like Ktesias. We shall see the importance of this distinction in appreciating his accounts. He goes on, § 184: "Babylon had a great many other kings, of whom I shall speak in my history of Assyria; it was they who most ornamented its walls and temples: in the number of these princes were two queens: the first was called Semiramis. She constructed those remarkable dykes which confine the Euphrates in its bed, and preserve the plain from the noxious stagnation of the waters after inundations."

§ 185. "The second queen, named Nitokris, was a more prudent woman than the first; she executed various works, &c. (we shall soon speak of them.) It was against the son of this queen whose troops Kyrus conducted: he was king of Assyria, and was called *Labynet*, like his father."

Here we have a known date, from whence we can set out to form our calculations; we know by Berosus, and by the *official list*, called Ptolomy's astronomical *Kanon*, that the king of Babylon was dethroned by Kyrus in the year 539; that he reigned seventeen years; he, consequently, ascended the throne in the year 555. According to Berosus and

Megasthenes, he was not the son of the three princes that preceded him; he could therefore have been only the son of *Nabukodon-asar*, who died in 565. Berosus names him *Nabonid*, which differs from *Labunet* only by the natural permutation of N into L and of d into t. This Nabonid seems even to be a Greek form employed by *Berosus* to signify *son of Nabu* or of *Naboun*. Then Nitokris, mother of *Labynet-Nabonid*, would be the wife of Nabukodon-asar, who, according to the custom of the country, must have had several wives. And we have a date of the reign, or rather regency, of that princess in this other phrase of Herodotus.

§ 186. "Nitokris having remarked that the Medes, already powerful, were continually increasing in strength, and that, among other cities, they had taken Nineveh, fortified herself," &c. We are certain, First, That the Medes took Nineveh, under Kyaxar, in the year 597; Second, That Nebuchadnezzar reigned already at Babylon since 604, that is since eight years, and that he reigned there forty-three years, until the year 565. Nitokris, therefore, could not have been a titular, *independent* queen; and it is proved that Herodotus calls improperly *reign* what was only a *regency* confided by Nabukodon-asar, the only king admitted on the list by Berosus, and the official Kanon. This regency finds plausible motives in the long absences of Nebuchadnezzar to subdue Tyre and Jerusalem:

the sieges of these two cities coincide very well with the date given by Herodotus (596), since they occupied the king of Babylon during thirteen years, from 598 until 586.

CHAPTER VI.

RESULT.

Herodotus attributes five great works to Nitokris.

" First, She dug above Babylon, for the Euphrates, a new bed which rendered its course so tortuous, that navigators passed successively three times in three days near the town of Arderica. The special object of this work was to prevent the progress of the Medes.

Second, " She constructed in the city and on both sides of the river, a quay in brick.

Third, " She established in the bed of the river when drained, piers of a bridge, on which were placed during the day planks, which were taken off at night, to prevent the inhabitants of one bank from robbing those of the other.

Fourth, She dug an immense lake, 420 stades in circumference, to turn into it the waters of the river in inundations. (This must have enabled her to lay the foundations of the bridge.)

Fifth, " With the earth taken out of this lake, she erected a prodigious dyke to confine the Euphrates."

None of these works are attributed by Berosus to Nabukodon-asar; but several appear to be confounded with those of Semiramis.

When it is recollected that Nebuchadnezzar married, in his father's life-time, the daughter of the king of the Medes, Kyaxar (about the year 606), it may be asked if this princess, called Aroïté, was the same as Nitokris; this is not impossible, though improbable at a first view. Kyaxar, like all the kings of those times, had several wives. Aroïté might be born of another mother than that of Astyag, Kyaxar's heir; and according to the custom of the *harem*, these rival mothers might educate them in a mutual antipathy: Aroïté, become the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, might, we apprehend, detest Astyag the more forcibly, as she must have been well acquainted with his ambition and perfidy. It must have been for her that the *hanging-garden* was erected.

But then, why was not her son Labynet Nebuchadnezzar's heir instead of Evil-Merodak, who is not represented to us as an elder son, or as a man advanced in years? These domestic incidents are not explained by authors, and we have no right to make up for the deficiency. Berosus even increases the difficulty, when he says, that the conspirators who killed * *Labo-roso-achod*, elected in

* Here we find *Labo* written instead of *Nabo*, as *Labynet* instead of *Nabunet*.

his room *a Babylonian* called *Nabonides;* how could he neglect telling us, that he was son of the great Nabukodon-asar?

Whatever might have been the circumstances, it is sufficient for chronology, that the epoch of Nitokris should be known and ascertained. Supposing the date of the regency to have been in the year 595, the first of Astyag, let us depart thence to calculate the epoch of Semiramis. Herodotus says she preceded Nitokris by *five generations:* this vague expression of *five generations*, is remarkable; Herodotus must have been here in want of a determined date, of an exact number. If we value the generations according to his system, that is three to a century, the *five* generations will give us 166 years, which, added to 595, place Semiramis about the year 761, fourteen years before *Nabou-asar*, and forty-five years before the destruction of Nineveh, by *Belesis* and *Arbâk*. This date, which no other writer mentions for Semiramis, has much embarrassed chronologers; some suppose an error of the transcriber in the number *five*, and that we should read *fifteen*. The fifteen generations would then stand in the Greek system for 500 years, and Semiramis, in our calculations, would be placed nearly in the year 1100 or 1095; which produces a difference of 100 years with the date we found by another calculation of Herodotus to be the year 1195.* Other critics imagined it

* *See* Chronology of Herodotus, page 113, and following.

was a Semiramis II. of the name, and some even have made her the wife of Nabon-asar; but we see that the accession of this prince, in 747, is fourteen or fifteen years later than the date given by Herodotus (761), and besides, the supposition has no authority in its favour.

After having reflected on certain circumstances of Herodotus's account, we thought we discovered for this difficulty, a solution truer and more simple. The reader has not forgotten, that this *travelling-historian* consulted the priests of Babylon, the *Chaldeans* who waited on the temple of Belus; consequently, the notions he received from them were conformable to the *Chaldean system*, as handed down to us by Berosus. But in this system, the Chaldean king Nabonasar was the first king of Babylon; no other was known or supposed to have existed before him. Nevertheless, as the reign of Semiramis was too notorious in Babylon, where her works were living witnesses,* that queen's name could not be entirely suppressed; only it immediately preceded *Nabonasar*, without supposing any interval, precisely as among the Persians, by the suppression which *Ardeschir* made of a great number of reigns between Alexander's and his own. Herodotus was, therefore, necessarily led into error by the *Chaldeans;* and

* Among others, one of the gates of the city was called after that queen.—*See* Rennel, Geog. system of Herodotus, sect. XIV.

how could he have avoided it, when Berosus himself fell into it, either sincerely, or intentionally, by the effect of that *Brahminic*, that is to say *mysterious* and *dissembling* spirit, which characterises the ancient priests. Afterwards, when Herodotus confronted these data with the calculations he received at Memphis and *Ekbatana*, *from the learned Persians and Egyptians*,* he must have been much embarrassed; but subjugated by authority, he wrote first, according to his custom, without becoming a voucher, and he tells us so in these words: *This is what the Chaldeans relate of their god Bel; it does not appear to me credible, but they assert it.*

If our explanation is right, the Semiramis of Herodotus is no other than Ktesias's, the foundress of Babylon, and many circumstances tend to confirm this assertion.

First, The absolute silence of all the ancients concerning a Semiramis II. placed at the period assigned by Herodotus.

Second, A passage of Stephanus of Byzantium, stating that: "Babylon was not built by Semiramis, as Herodotus pretends."

Herodotus speaks only once of Semiramis, *who constructed the remarkable dykes to which Babylon owed the salubrity of its territory.* Stephanus

* *See* Book XI. § XCIX. and foll., and Book I. § I.

of Byzantium, therefore, looked on this Semiramis as the *foundress* spoken of by Ktesias.

Third, Speaking of Babylon, Herodotus says elsewhere: "After the subversion of Nineveh (in 717 under Sardana-pal) Babylon became the capital of the Assyrian kings." Does not he appear to think that Babylon had kings only since that epoch, very nearly that of Nabonasar who died in 733?

Fourth, Afterwards relating what the kings Darius and Xerces did at Babylon, he adds:—

"This city had *several* other kings; it was they who *more completely adorned its walls and temples.*" These last words allude to the brazen gates placed by Nebuchadnezzar, and to his *rich spoils* mentioned by Berosus; but, at the same time, they imply *the construction of the walls as anterior and already done.** Herodotus continues:

"Among these kings they reckon two women: the first, called *Semiramis*, lived *five generations* before the second."

Remark that Herodotus does not say *five* reigns: it would be in contradiction with the other phrase, *Babylon had several other kings*. The word *seve-*

* The French translation of Larcher says: "It is they who surrounded it with walls, and embellished it with the temples they erected there." This periphrasis materially perverts the text: *muros ampliùs ornaverunt et templa.* This translation is full of similar alterations, and it is certain that Herodotus is still to be *translated into French.*

ral, agrees perfectly with the number of *Ptolomy's kanon*, which reckons twenty-one reigns from Nabonasar to Kyrus; but if Herodotus had known those who intervened between Semiramis and Nabonasar, in a space of more than 440 years, would he have confined himself to the word *several?* He was, therefore, unacquainted with them.

Fifth, In fine, if our explanation is false, is it not very extraordinary to see the Chaldean calculation of Herodotus allow a reign of fourteen years to Semiramis (from 761 to 747), precisely as we found above by the calculation of the Assyrians?

It is probable, that when this historian proposed to compose his history of Assyria, he discovered the interruption in the Chaldean system; its discordancy with the Ninevite system; and that this difficulty was a motive of disgust to him, a radical obstacle to the publication of his book; at the same time that this error inserted in the work we possess, must have been one of the efficient arguments employed by Ktesias to attack and discredit him. We have yet a few words to say concerning the works of Nitokris. (See page 180.)

The *three great windings of the Euphrates* appear to belong to her without opposition, but her bridge is very like Semiramis's. May not we suppose that Nitokris found it much damaged, and she repaired and ornamented it?

The turning of the river, and the digging of the grand reservoir or lake, are annexes to the

bridge, which Semiramis likewise reclaims. It was probably only imitation and repetition on the part of Nitokris.

From all these discussions, it follows pretty clearly on the one hand, that the fundamental works of Babylon belong really to Semiramis, and that the Assyrian books were in this respect better informed and more exact than those of the Chaldeans; but, on the other hand, it seems to be no less true that long before that queen there existed on the same spot a very famous temple of the god Bel; and because the ancient temples in general were fortified for the safety of the priests, and that on account of the pilgrimages to which they gave rise, their neighbourhood was well inhabited, there is every reason to believe, that there existed a city of *Babél* or Babylon, prior to that of Semiramis; and, in this respect, the assertion of Berosus and Megasthenes is confirmed by other positive testimonies, and by various inducive arguments.

Diodorus Siculus,* speaking of the great and numerous works which Sesostris, on his return from his conquests, got executed by the captives of the nations he subdued, informs us, upon the authority of the Egyptian books and monuments, that a certain number of prisoners brought from Babylonia could not patiently endure the hard-

* Book I. page 66, edit. of Wesseling.

ships of the works, and that having made their escape, they seized on a very strong position on the banks of the Nile; that, from this asylum, they made in the vicinity pillaging excursions for their subsistence, until an amnesty having been offered or granted to them, they gave the name of *Babylon* to the situation they had chosen for an habitation."

Now if, as is agreed on by chronologers, on the testimony of Herodotus, the Egyptian king Sesostris returned from his conquests about the year 1348 before Jesus Christ, it follows that there existed *Babylonians*, and consequently a *Babel* at that epoch, more than 150 years before Semiramis. Diodorus adds immediately this remarkable observation:

"I am aware that Ktesias of Knidus gives a different origin to several of the cities of Egypt called by foreign names, when he says that a number of military men who came into Egypt under the conduct of Semiramis, built there cities which they called after the name of their country."

In this opinion of Ktesias we find two striking improbabilities. First, How could Babylon, scarcely built by Semiramis, scarcely having a first beginning of population in its vast circuit, furnish a colony? and how could these colonists, none of whom were born in Babylon, call their *country* a place to which they were strangers?

Secondly, How could the Egyptians, after the

pretended passage of Semiramis, necessarily of short duration, suffer among them feeble foreigners, unprotected and abhorred from principles of religion and policy? The origin of these foreign cities attributed to Sesostris's captives is, therefore, much more natural, and Ktesias, who contradicts himself here, appears to have followed that systematical opinion of the Persians (which we have mentioned), who, on account of the revolt of Egypt against the great king, sought in antiquity a right or a pretext for a legitimate possession founded on a pretended conquest previous to Sesostris, by means of which conquest the Egyptians should be considered only as ancient subjects escaped from the yoke, and in a constant state of rebellion.

Here the contradiction of Ktesias is demonstrated by the circumstances attending the conquest of *Babylonia* by Ninus. "That country," says he, "had a great many populous cities: the natives, inexperienced in the art of war, were easily conquered and rendered tributary, Ninus carried their king into captivity," &c.

On this text we argue and say: "*If this people had cities,*" it is because they had arts, sciences, and wealth; if they were *inexperienced in the art of war*, it is because they were pacific and civilized, and they were pacific because they were agricultural; it was also the cause of their population and riches. Since they had a king, the government was monarchical; consequently, there was a court, a ca-

pital, and a corresponding organization: in this organization must have been included, as among all ancient Asiatic nations, a sacerdotal *cast;* and as later historians represent the Babylonian people as very anciently divided into four casts, like the Egyptians and Indians, we may be assured that there existed already the cast of those Chaldean priests so celebrated for their science and their antique origin: if this cast existed, it must also have had already its college, its astronomical observatory, and the instruments necessary for its instruction and for the sciences. In a level country like Chaldea, this observatory should be elevated like the pyramid or tower of Belus, identical with that of *Babel:* the kingdom conquered by Ninus should already have been called *Babylonia*, first, because it was the country of *Belus;* secondly, because the name occurs in the time of Sesostris; thirdly, because the limits of *Babylonia*, such as they are traced by the oldest geographers, could not have been assigned by Semiramis or by Ninus: in fact, the frontier line of Babylonia to the north, according to Strabo,* who agrees with Ktesias,

* *Strabo*, Lib. XVI. page 737. "Nineveh is situated in Atouria: Atouria is like the country that surrounds *Arbela, from which it is separated* by the Wolf river (the Lycus): Arbela belongs to Babylonia, which it joins *beyond* the Lycus: the plain of Atouria surrounds Nineveh."

It appears that the frontier of Babylonia, towards Nineveh, was the Wolf or Lycus river, situate *beyond* Arbela with respect to this Baby-

passed between the territory of Arbela and the country of Nineveh, properly called *Atouria* or *Assouria*; that is to say, that the jurisdiction of Babylon extended to eighty-four leagues from that city, and approached Nineveh within nearly sixteen of our common French leagues, which is confirmed by the account given in Ktesias of the battles that took place between the troops of Sardanapal

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lonia: but the distance from the Lycus to Nineveh is only about sixteen common leagues of France. And Ktesias says, that in the first battle, Sardanapal repulsed the rebels seven stades, making 477 fathoms, because his stade is that of 833⅓ to a degree, as we shall see. In the two subsequent engagements, the king drove the rebels to the frontier of Babylonia, and the historian's account shows it was not far.

Here we are to remark, that *Atouria* is nothing else than the Chaldean pronunciation of the word *Ashouria* (Assyria), the Chaldean dialect changing very often the *Hebrew* and *Arabian skin* into *tau*. Also Casaubon, in his notes on the first paragraph of the sixteenth Book of Strabo, remarks that, according to the testimony of Pliny and Ammianus, the country where Nineveh stood was at first called *Assyria*, afterwards *Adiabene;* and that according to Dion *(in Trajano)*, Adiabene had been called *Atouria* by the *barbarians* (the Chaldeans), who changed the *s* into *t* (Assouria-Atouria).* As to the word *Adiabene*, Ammianus-Marcellinus wishes to give it a forced Greek origin; it is the Syrian and Chaldean word for the river of the *Wolf*, which in those dialects is called *Diab* and *Ziab*, *Zab* in modern geography; and the Greeks who called it *Lycus*, only translated the Chaldean word. It is probable that after Alexander's conquest, all their information was derived from the Babylonian astronomers and geographers.

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* The Chaldaic translation of Onkelos always renders *Assour* by *Atour*.

and those of *Arbakes* and Belesis.* But it cannot be imagined that Ninus and Semiramis would have suffered so near their capital the territory of a conquered people; and it must be admitted that these limits of *Babylonia* were already ancient; that the kingdom of the Chaldeans was established before that of the Assyrians, who before Ninus probably possessed only the mountainous country situate between Armenia and Media, which country composes at present Kurdistan properly so called; while the Babylonians possessed all the level country situate between the sea,† the desert, and the mountains, which presents so natural a geographical boundary, that history shows it to us without any important alteration since those ancient times down to the present day: that great island of the Euphrates and Tigris, formerly called *Babylonia*, and now-a-days *Irâq-Arabia*, may be termed the constant domain of the Arabian race. Several passages of Strabo contain on this subject positive facts and luminous ideas. "The Armenians," says this learned geographer, Book I. p. 41, "the Arabs and the Syrians, have a remarkable conformity in the form of their bodies, in their manner

* *See* Chronology of Herodotus, page 365. The translator has committed an error in this same page, when he estimates the stade of Ktesias at eighty-five fathom, whilst it only amounts to sixty-eight fathom five feet two inches.

† Persian Gulf.

of living and in their *language;* and the Assyrians are in every respect like the Arabs and Syrians (p. 42): now the name of the *Syrians* (B. XVII. p. 737.) seems to extend from *Babylonia* to the Gulf of Issus, and even formerly as far as the Euxine; for the Cappadocians, both of Pontus and of Taurus, are still called *white Syrians*, no doubt because there are *black Syrians;* the latter dwell on the exterior of mount Taurus, whose name extends as far as the *Amanus* (near the Gulf of Issus). When the historians, who treat of the empire of the *Syrians*, tell us that the Persians overthrew the Medes, and that the Medes had overthrown the Syrians; they mean no other Syrians than those whose capitals were the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, built one by Ninus in the plain of Atouria, the other by Semiramis, the wife and successor of Ninus. Those Syrians reigned over Asia. Ninus and Semiramis are called *Syrians** (in history). And Nineveh is denominated the capital of *Syria*. It is the same language that is spoken without and *within* the Euphrates." This is what Strabo says.

By these words, *within the Euphrates*, he evidently means the country between that river and the Tigris, and even all that lies to the east as far as the mountains of the Medes and Persians; which agrees perfectly with the Arabian monuments of

* Lib. II. p. 84.

Maséoudi, which, as has been already remarked,* attest that the south of Persia and the country of Haouaz, on the east of the Tigris, were inhabited by one of the four most ancient Arabian tribes (that of Tasm), at a very remote epoch.

A final circumstance, in favour of this antiquity, merits also to be mentioned.

Stephanus of Byzantium, at the word *Babylon*,† after stating that *Babylon was not founded by Semiramis, as Herodotus pretends* (vide suprà), adds: that this city was founded by the very-wise and very-learned Babylon,‡ 2000 years before Semiramis, as Herennius-Severus says."

This Herennius-Severus, according to the remark of Saumaise,§ is the Phenician *Philo*, mentioned by Josephus as having translated into Greek several historical books of his nation; consequently, Philo could and should have read Arabian and Chaldean books of a very ancient date. The 2000 years he speaks of, are therefore the result of his calculations, drawn up from the data of authentic

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* *See* the article on the Homerite kings, p. 35, Vol. II. (*Chronology of Herodotus;*) and the *Geography of Genesis, at the end*, first part of our *Researches*.

† *Lexicon de Urbibus*.

‡ We must understand Belus, no author having ever spoken of the wise Babylon.

§ *Vide Salmasium exercit. Plinianæ in Solin*, p. 866, E.—Saumaise proposes, instead of *two thousand years*, to read *a thousand and two years;* but this correction is unsupported, and has against it the reading of Photius, who read 1800 years.

monuments. Our modern chronologers have neglected or despised this calculation, because it does not agree with their's; but in the system we are treating of, it has a remarkable analogy with two periods, the authenticity of which is avowed. According to us, Semiramis reigned 1195 years before Jesus Christ: add 2000 years, you find 3195 years for the date of the foundation of the *Temple of Belus;* and recollect, that, according to Megasthenes and Berosus, it was after a *deluge* or inundation of the earth that Belus built his city, and afterwards disappeared. Now, confronting with this calculation that of the Jewish books, you have from the Christian era until the foundation of the temple of Solomon* - - - - - - 1012 years

From the foundation of the temple of Solomon, till the flight out of Egypt† - - - - - - - - - - 480

From the flight out of Egypt till the birth of Abraham‡ - - - - - - 500

And from the birth of Abraham until the deluge§ - - - - - - - - 1194

Total - - - 3186 years.

* According to the vulgar calculation, *see* Larcher. Chronology according to us, 1015.

† According to the author of the Book of Kings.

‡ According to the Greek text, which, translated authentically by king Ptolomy's order, represents the ancient original Hebrew, cited by Ezra, more exactly than the present Hebrew, revised under the Asmoneans by the grand Sanhedrin.

§ *See* the Tables of Walton's Polyglott, Vol. I. p. 4, and following.

We have therefore only a difference of nine years, and it is also to be observed, that in the *period of the Jewish kings*, there are, among chronologers, variations of six, eight, and ten years, which complete the deficiency, and render the synchronism perfect.* Our particular calculation, after all the corrections are made, estimates the interval between the foundation of the temple and our era, at the sum of 1015, which gives 3189 years, five years difference only. So perfect an analogy does not proceed from chance.

On the other hand, the analysis of Indian astronomy, made by Bailly, by Le Gentil, and by the learned men of Calcutta, informs us that the period of the *Kali yog* ascends to the year 3102 before our era, that is to say, the *present age* commenced at that date, after *a deluge which overflowed the earth and destroyed the human race, with the exception* of *Satavriata*, and his family, whom the god *Vishnou*, metamorphosed into a fish, anticipated and preserved from the danger. It is true that we have here a difference of ninety years; but as all these deluges, so famous in history (though they happened, as is pretended, before any writers existed), are nothing else but astronomical facts disguised in allegories, the calculations of astronomers were subject to variations according to

* Besides, add the ten years they all omit in Amon's reign, father of Josiah, and you have 3196 years, a difference of a single year.

the point (or degree) *of the celestial sign* (argo, or aquarius) whence they set out, and a degree in a sign was sufficient to introduce a difference of seventy-one years, on account of the phenomenon called *precession of the equinoxes.*

Here the analogy or rather identity of the three epochs proves the account to come from a common source which should be assigned to the Chaldeans, because the Jews are but their echo, as has been proved in the first part of these Researches (chap. xi. and following), and because the Indians appear to have borrowed their astronomy from the Chaldean school, as has been clearly shewn by Le Gentil, in his Memoir on the resemblance of the Indian astronomy to that of the Chaldeans,* and Bailly himself, in several passages of his Researches on Astronomy Ancient (p. 182) and Indian, p. 277, and Prel. Disc. p. 72.) We shall soon see numerous facts tending to prove that this Chaldean school was prior to Semiramis and Ninus.

* Voyage in the Indian Seas, Vol. I. p. 320.

CHAPTER VII.

DIMENSIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS OF BABYLON.

THIS subject is a problem which has not yet been resolved in a satisfactory manner; two difficulties render it complicated; one, the discordancy of authors concerning the dimensions of these works; the other, the value of the ancient measures cited by them and compared with our modern ones.

We have seen that according to Ktesias the great wall of enclosure formed a perfect *square*, each of whose sides was *ninety* stades long; total, 360: according to Klitarchus, it must have been 365, *alluding to the days of the year*. According to Herodotus, this *really equilateral* square was 480 stades in circumference. Strabo and Quintus-Curcius have other variations; one says 385; the other 368; as to the height of the wall, Ktesias gives it *fifty orgyes*, with a breadth of six *chariots* abreast, while Klitarchus reduces it to fifty cubits, with a breadth of two chariots abreast. Herodotus states, on the contrary, that the height was 200 *royal cubits* of Babylon.

Why these discordancies concerning material and palpable facts, and what are we to understand

by these *stades*, these *cubits*, these *orgyes*? To suppose, with some commentators, that Ktesias or Herodotus is mistaken; that one or the other is wrong, is an inadmissible solution, because both were on the spot, had seen, had consulted the learned, and that an error of just *a quarter* is impossible. Nor can it be said that the manuscripts are altered in this point: their difference was long ago remarked. Is it not rather because the *stades* they employed were of various lengths, as happens to our *leagues*, which, according to the provinces and countries of Europe make sometimes 2000 fathom, sometimes 2500, at others 2800, even 3000, and at times more? The learned and judicious Freret appears to have been the first who conceived this simple and luminous idea. In a Memoir,* planned in the year 1723, he endeavoured to prove that the disagreement between Ktesias and Herodotus was only apparent, and proceeded from Herodotus's having employed the *small stade* mentioned by Aristotle† as having served mathematicians to measure the circumference of the earth, which they fixed at 400,000 parts or stades, of which 1111 *fathom* $\frac{1}{9}$th went to a degree; whereas Ktesias employed the stade used by Ar-

* *See* Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, Tom. XXIV. page 432.

† *De Cælo*, Lib. II. cap. 14.

chimedes * to measure the same circumference, and which allowing 833 $\frac{1}{3}$d stades to a degree, makes the circle to be 300,000 stades. This relation of 300 to 400, the same as of 360 to 480, is remarkable; but the proofs were neither sufficiently detailed, nor men's minds ripe enough; Freret could not persuade. Danville, contrary to custom, was unsuccessful when he endeavoured to deduce † the stade of Herodotus from a vague measure of the hillock of *Babel*, taken by the traveller *Pietro della Valle*. Major Rennel, who very properly rejects a pretended stade of forty-one fathom imagined by Danville, had however no better fortune, and though he devotes an entire section ‡ to the city of Babylon, it is easy to perceive, after having read it, that he rather made calculations of probabilities than a methodical analysis of the two difficulties in question. To resolve those difficulties, it is above all necessary to examine thoroughly the subject of *ancient measures;* to determine if the *stades* of various authors have the same value; what are those values in our modern measures: such a work required an entire system of researches,

* Lib. I.

† Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, Tom. XXVIII. page 263.

‡ Geographical System of Herodotus, in 4to. London, 1800. § XIV. Rennel even rejects the stade of fifty-one fathom, which he looks on as chimerical.

comparisons, and difficult combinations. Paucton, Major Rennel's countryman,* had made a first attempt. But, as happens in all scientific researches, several inaccuracies were joined with happy discoveries. Romé de Lisle† profitted of both to obtain more extensive—more exact results. Finally, M. Gosselin, by new and ingenious combinations, has carried to a higher degree of precision every thing concerning the geographical measures of the ancients. Now that, thanks to these learned men, the question of ancient measures is more simple, it becomes less difficult to resolve our problem.

And first, as to the discordancy of authors, if we succeed in reconciling Herodotus and Ktesias, the others will not be embarrassing, because they are only copiers, whereas the two first are eye-witnesses, authorities of the first degree. But from whom did they derive their information? We have seen, with respect to Semiramis, that their sources are different; that Herodotus followed the opinions of the Babylonian priests, whilst Ktesias was guided by the learned Persians and Median Magi, the interpreters of the Assyrians: but it is notorious that in their civil and religious system, as well as

* *See* Treatise concerning the Measures, Weights, and Coins of Ancient and Modern Nations, by Paucton, a translation of which was published at Paris in 1780, in 4to.

† Metrologie, in 4to. Paris, 1789.

in their language, the Babylonian priests differed totally from the Persians and Medes; and because astronomy, among all the ancients, was intimately connected with religion, we have a right to suppose also that this science and its elements were equally different; consequently, that the geometrical measures, which constitute a part of it, were not exactly the same. According to these data, admitting that the stades employed by Herodotus and Ktesias were of different values, let us see, in the tables drawn up by M. Gosselin, if two stades can be found in the exact relation of three to four, as 360 is to 480. Two offer themselves, one containing fifty-one *fathom* one *foot* ten *inches* one *line* 421°; the other sixty-eight *fathom* two *feet* five *inches* five *lines* 894°; which is just the proportion required. If we raise the latter to Ktesias's, multiple 360, we have 24,627 fathom two feet eight inches nine lines 984°, and if we raise the first to Herodotus's multiple 480, we obtain rigorously the same sum in all its details; so perfect an identity cannot be the effect of chance: it gives us the incontestible solution of the problem, and we have a right to draw several consequences from it. We may say, First, That this different value of the stades employed by Herodotus and Ktesias confirms the truth of our conjecture; to wit, that these authors followed two scientific systems of different origin; Second, That on this occasion, and in every thing concerning Babylon, Herodotus

made use of the small stade, called after *Aristotle*, of 1111 $\frac{1}{9}$th to a degree, whilst Ktesias employed the stade called after *Archimedes*, of 833 $\frac{1}{3}$d to a degree, as the judicious Freret had foreseen ; Third, That the small stade called *Aristotle's*, is really the Chaldean stade ; that the mathematicians alluded to by that philosopher, are no others than the Babylonians, whose observations were sent to him by Kallisthenes, according to what we learn from Simplicius, whose account finds here an additional proof: while, on the other hand, the stade called *Archimedes* appears to have been the Assyrian stade, transmitted, and no doubt adopted, by the Medes and Persians their successors. We shall return to these two important propositions hereafter.

The concordance of Herodotus and Ktesias thus established, all the various readings of other authors are judged. If Strabo allows for the walls of Babylon, the odd number of 385 stades, it is because Strabo, who *often quotes the historians of Alexander*, borrows from them the number 365, which, as Diodorus says, is that of *Klitarchus and the authors contemporary with Alexander*, upon the principle, that *Semiramis wished to imitate the days in the year*. This astrological motive, truly characteristic of the ancients, appears to us authentic * and conclusive ; but, for that same reason,

* We are sorry to see Major Rennell call this reason an apocryphal fable ; one would imagine he was unacquainted with the character of the ancients.

it turns against Klitarchus. First, Because the number 365 cannot be divided into four equal parts, or form a *perfect square;* there must have been a remainder or fraction, which for *astrological geometricians*, would have been a bad omen; Second, Because between these 365 stades and Herodotus's 480, there would no longer exist any harmony. Third, Because the 360 stades of Ktesias, by uniting the *virtues of the circle* to the merit of the *equilateral square*, agree remarkably well with the year of 360 days, which we know to have been formerly in use among the Egyptians, and which, at this period, is shewn to have been known to the Assyrians by the circumstance *that Semiramis demanded of her husband the five surplus days of the year, to be queen.* We know also that this was not the practice of the Persians and Magi, who preferred the year of 365 days. When Darius marched against Alexander, says Quintus Curcius (Book III. chap. iii.) "The Magi made a procession, in which they were followed by 365 young men, representing the days in the year, and these young men were clothed in purple garments."

The historians contemporary with Alexander, who had this practice before their eyes, and who were told in Babylon that the number *of stades in the rampart equalled that of the days in the year*, confounded the modern with the ancient year. Strabo has therefore borrowed from them the number 365. But some ancient transcriber of his manuscripts altered the second cypher, and wrote

$^{8}_{octa}$ for $^{6}_{exa}$. Quintus-Curcius, or his transcribers, have further altered this error, and by inverting the cypher, they wrote instead of 386, 368: with so late a writer as Quintus-Curcius, this mistake is of no consequence. We do not speak of Pliny, who habitually confounds all the stades, by taking them indiscriminately for the eighth part of a Roman mile. The numbers and calculations of Berosus are to be regretted.

The circuit of Babylon being known to amount to 24,627 fathom of 48,000 *metres*, each side of the square contained nearly 6156 fathom, or 12,000 metres,* that is, a little more than three of our post-leagues. Consequently, the level surface of this capital took up more than nine of our square post-leagues; this surface is no doubt prodigious, but not incredible. We should be greatly mistaken if we compared an Asiatic city, and especially an Arabian one, with our cities of Europe, where the houses built of stone are close together, and have several stories: in Asia, in general, gardens, court-yards, and ploughed-lands, are included within the city-walls. In an equal surface, they do not contain half, or even a third of the inhabitants that live in ours. In a country like *Iraq*, where there is no other timber than palm-trees and deal,† the houses

* Danville estimates it at 4,900 fathom, and allows only 3,100 fathom to one of the sides of the city of Paris.

† *See* Strabo, Book XVI. page 739.

of the common people are, and always have been, nothing else but huts. Thus we are to consider Babylon only as an immense intrenched camp, some quarters of which, near the river and the king's castle, were better inhabited, and more ornamented, whilst the greater part of the grounds were only intended to receive great quantities of men and cattle in times of wars and invasions, then frequent and sudden:* it is fair to suppose that such was the reasonable intention of the founders of Nineveh and Babylon, whose great political views are attested by their other actions. In these vast cities, several marshy parts were too unwholesome to be inhabited; but they were cultivated, and their fertility was serviceable to the centre of the city. Thus all compensations made, when compared with Nankin, Pekin, Dehli, and Moscow, Babylon in its splendour, had probably no more than 6 or 700,000 inhabitants.† Had it been a million, the subsistence

* The Abbé Beauchamp, in his Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon, observes, that the Arabs, who remove great quantities of bricks and other materials for building, from that part of Babylon situate on the east of the Euphrates, find none in the western portion. *See* le Journal des Sçavans, December 1790.

† During the reign of Darius-Hystasp, the inhabitants of Babylon planning an insurrection, perceived they had but little provisions, and because each had several wives, they reserved every man one, and killed the others as useless mouths. After the siege, which did not cost many lives, Darius, to repeople the city as before, ordered them to take other wives, and the number furnished by the surrounding countries was 50,000. *See* Herod. Lib. III. § 152. This does not

of this multitude would not be an embarrassing problem, as Major Rennel concluded upon vague and incorrect foundation.* Between a city like London and any Asiatic city whatever, no comparison is admissible. If a space of 6600 square miles is necessary to support 700,000 English, not a fourth part of it is requisite to maintain a million of Arabs; and if it be considered that, according to Herodotus, Babylonia was so fertile in rice, corn, and vegetables, that it alone furnished a fourth of the contributions of the Persian empire, under Darius and Xerces, there can be no objection to allowing for the capital a population of at least a million of inhabitants.

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give the idea of a great population; it is true, Babylon was declining; but it was still a large city.

* To calculate the population of Babylon, Rennel establishes a comparison with the City of London; and because London contains upwards of 700,000 people in a square space of fifteen miles and a half, and that these 700,000 people consume the produce of 6,600 square miles of good land; he pretends that Babylon, which contained seventy-two square miles (as he says, and he is mistaken by a fourth) would absorb the produce of all Chaldea. But after having seen the cities and people of Asia, it is astonishing Rennel should have made such a comparison: First, because it is certain that ten Englishmen consume as much as fifty Arabs: Second, because the Asiatic cities have vast vacant paces, not to be found in English cities, the architectural principle of which is to be as close as possible. It is thus, we were told, thirty years ago, that Kairo contained 700,000 people, or at least 400,000, because it equals Paris in extent; and when the French army endeavoured to verify it, they found very nearly the number of 250,000, at which the traveller Volney had estimated it. *See* Rennel's work, Sect. xiv.

The height of the great wall is not so easily ascertained as its extent; Ktesias reckons fifty orgyes, which make 265 feet seven inches:* Herodotus, on the contrary, gives it *two hundred royal cubits of Babylon*,† amounting to 288 feet ten inches: such a height surpasses all belief; and, besides, the two historians differ by thirty-two feet three inches. Moreover, they could not have seen the walls entire, since, according to Herodotus, King *Darius had demolished them at top*.‡ Strabo, who copies the historians of Alexander, reduces this height to thirty cubits, or eighty-six feet four inches eight lines, which is considerable; but at the same time admissible. He allows also, for the breadth, the passage of two chariots, equal to thirty-two *ancient feet*,§ which is much more reasonable than the six chariots of Ktesias. These walls having been erected with the earth excavated at their feet, and baked on the spot, there necessarily resulted a very deep *fossé*, and it is probable that Herodotus and Ktesias meant the *height* taken from the bottom of the *fossé* to the summit of the rampart, while the historians of Alexander reckoned it from the *level*

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* According to Romé de Lille, the orgye contains five feet one inch seven lines. See his Meteorology.

† The royal cubit is estimated at seventeen inches four lines, by Romé de Lille.

‡ Herod. Book III. § 152.

§ There are many of them: taking that of Eratosthenes, the thirty-two are a little more than twenty-six of our feet. Meteorolog. page 1.

of the place: and because the *fossé* was filled with water, and the walls, as we have seen, demolished at top, none of these authors could measure them, and speaking from hearsay, they might have been imposed upon.

It is easier to calculate the measures of the two castles constructed by Semiramis at the two entrances to the bridge that she built upon the Euphrates. "The western castle," says Ktesias, "was surrounded by a triple wall, the first of which, on the outside, was sixty stades in circumference." These sixty stades of Ktesias are known to amount to 4104 fathom three feet five inches five lines, or 8000 metres. There results for each side 2546 metres, 170, that is a surface of more than half a league every way. This space seems to merit for the citadel the name of *city with a triple enclosure*, which we have seen Berosus make use of in an obscure passage that we think we have explained: the other details of these castles present no serious difficulty; for it is evident that Ktesias or Diodorus, when they say that the *third internal inclosure* (consequently the smallest) *surpassed the second in breadth and length*, meant in *breadth* and *height*, otherwise it would be an absurdity.

The dimensions of the bridge, such as they are given in Ktesias, are inadmissible. This author says it was thrown over in the narrowest part of the river, and that nevertheless it was five stades *long*.

His calculation therefore must have been 342 fathom two feet two inches (about 2165 feet). But Strabo (Book XVI. page 738), supported by the historians of Alexander, allows only the breadth of one stade to the Euphrates: our modern travellers have not measured this river with accuracy; but two of them supply us with an approximate term of comparison. Pietro della Valle relates,* that at the town of Hellah (which made a part of ancient Babylon) he saw in the month of November "a bridge of boats on the Euphrates, like one he had seen at Bagdad. (At that season the waters are very low.) This bridge had only twenty-four boats in length, but in the high waters a great many more are necessary."

On the other hand, Beauchamp reckons ten feet for the breadth of each bark, composing the bridge of *Bagdad* (which must have been analogous;) but the intervals are to be added; and, besides, a certain extent for the time of high water: supposing thirty barks, making up 300 feet, and leaving the intervals for a memorandum: if the stade of Strabo is the same as Herodotus's, it makes 307 feet ten inches; if it is the stade of Ktesias, it makes 410 feet five inches. We cannot allow 110 feet for the intervals, and it seems more natural to prefer the stade of Herodotus, which agrees with the accounts of travellers: however, their mensura-

* In quarto, Vol. I. Part II. page 54, letter 17.

tion is too vague to decide clearly the question. If, on the other hand, we suppose Ktesias to have mistaken the name of the *measure* he makes use of, and that instead of *stade* we should read *plethre*,* the five plethres amount to seventy-one fathom one inch six lines, or 427 feet six inches, which differ from 410 feet only by seventeen feet six inches. Nothing is very clear respecting this article, unless it be that the bridge could not exceed 400 and some feet, and that Ktesias is mistaken as to his five stades.

A final article, clearer and more important in its results, is the *temple, or tower of Belus*. Let us hear Herodotus, who declares himself an eye-witness, and who could not mistake an object exposed to the view, and of small extent.†

"The centre of the city (on the east of the river) is remarkable for the temple of *Jupiter-Belus*, which still exists: it is a regular square, shut with brazen gates, and extending two stades every way. In the midst of this enclosure is seen a massy *tower*, one stade in length as well as in breadth."

Thus the temple of Belus at Babylon was a place of strength, a kind of citadel,‡ like the tem-

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* The plethre contains fourteen fathom one foot six lines. Meteorology, page 6.

† Herod. Book I. § 181.

‡ This is the expression made use of by Ammianus Marcellinus

ple of the sun at *Bal-bek*, and like most ancient temples,* which, through respect for the divinity, and still more for the preservation of the priests, and the treasures accumulated there from pious motives, were surrounded by a high and strong external wall. The measure here employed by Herodotus, is evidently the Chaldean stade of 1111 $\frac{1}{9}$th to a degree, each stade equal to 100 metres *(fifty-one fathoms one foot ten inches one line.)* Consequently, the square of two stades, formed by the wall, was on each face 200 French metres long, or 102 fathom three feet eight inches two lines, or 615 feet eight inches, almost equal to the face of the building of the Invalids, towards the Seine.

In the midst of this square of walls, shut with brazen gates, stood the *tower* of Belus, also square at its base, having one stade every way, consequently 100 metres, or 307 feet ten inches one line, at bottom. "On this tower, (continues Herodotus) rises a second; on the second a third; and thus successively to the total number of *eight.* They constructed on the outside of these towers staircases, or steps, winding about, and by which they go up to each tower. In the middle of this staircase (at the fourth tower) is found a lodge and seats, where those who mount may rest them-

* *See* the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra, or even that of Jerusalem.

selves. In the last (and highest tower) is a great chapel; in the chapel a great bed well furnished, and near the bed a golden table."

Our author neglects to remark, that at each story the tower diminishes; so that the general profile should be that of a pyramid. He also omits to state the height; but Strabo makes up for it, when he says (page 738) " that Belus's tomb was a *pyramid*, one stade in height, by a stade in length and breadth at its base."

This mass, therefore, had likewise an elevation of 307 feet ten inches, and formed an equilateral triangle.*

What was the object of this edifice? That was the secret of the priests. Some circumstances may reveal it to us. First, These convenient staircases leading to the top, announce a frequent necessity of going up there: it cannot be for sacrifices; the bloody apparatus of piles and victims would have been too embarrassing, and the chapel was too small. Second, In this chapel was a bed and table; *some one slept there;* and to spend the night there, lights were necessary, the table must have been of use; the *God Bel*, said the priests, *descended there once a year, and found in it a wo-*

* Since so many centuries that this pyramid is fallen, and ransacked by the Arabs, who carry off the bricks, it must have lost prodigiously in height, and yet Abbé Beaucamp still found it 180 feet high. *See* Journal des Sçavans. December 1790.

man: this we understand; but during the 364 nights in the year, this bed, according to us, was occupied by one or several priests, employed as astronomers in observing the stars: *this edifice was an observatory;* its height is an additional proof; for in a level country like Chaldea, an elevation of 307 feet above the ground only serves to place the eye above terrestrial mists, to make it see more clearly the whole horizon, and to lessen the effect of refractions: also Ktesias, after stating that this tower, or pyramid, was excessively high, adds: "it was by means of it that the Chaldeans, addicted to the observation of the stars, acquired an exact knowledge of their risings and settings.

Here is the mystery so important to be kept secret, since it was the basis and theocratical mobile of the religious and political power of the priests, who, by predicting the eclipses of the sun and moon, struck with astonishment and admiration the people, and even the kings at the time, totally ignorant of the causes, and greatly alarmed at the apparition of these phenomena: by these predictions the priests made themselves be considered as initiated in the secrets, as associated in the science of the gods, and received or assumed the revered name of *Nabi* and *Nabo* (the prophet) and of *Chaldai*, or rather *Kasdhim*, *soothsayers*, and *diviners:* if this chapel of Bel had been searched, there would have been found in it some closet or masked

cellar, where were preserved the instruments of observation, which the ancient astronomers were always very jealous of. The daily observations might have been made *in the middle lodge*, where were seats to rest on, at an elevation of 150 feet, more accessible than 307. Here is the origin of that *Chaldean science*, vaunted by the ancient Greeks as a thing, in their time, *very antique*, which could not be said if the very intricate system of that science, as well astronomical as astrological, was formed only since Semiramis's time. It is possible, it is even probable, that the edifice seen by Herodotus and Ktesias was only embellished and repaired by that princess with greater magnificence. Every thing tends to prove that before her, and a very long time before, there existed in the same spot the monument called at one time a *palace* and citadel, at another *temple*, *tomb*, and *tower*, of the god *Bel*. The assertions of Megasthenes and Berosus, of Alexander, Polyhistor, Abydenus, &c. are positive on this head, and have the more weight, as they are but the expression and translation of the traditions of the country, and of the public monuments mentioned by those writers, as notorious vouchers for their veracity. Add to which, what is said in the book of Jewish Antiquities concerning the *tower of Babel*, which, both for the *name* and the thing, is absolutely identical with what Herodotus and Berosus tell us of the *tower of Bel*: we have already seen that the

epoch of construction is also the same. Now, as we have reasonable motives to suppose that the *tower of Bel*, or *of Babel*, existed long before the reign of Semiramis, probably 2000 years, and *existed as an astronomical observatory*, we have also a right to infer, that it is rather to this period we are to assign the studies and progress of the Chaldeans in astronomy. *One* circumstance indicates alone, that at the epoch of Semiramis they knew not only *the round figure*, but also the circumference of the earth. *The base and height* of the tower of Belus were rigorously the measure of the Chaldaic stade; this geometrical measure was not chosen by accident. Supposing it was Semiramis who ordered it, when she repaired the tower, it follows that already the stade was in use; but the Chaldaic stade of 1111 $\frac{1}{9}$th to the degree, is an elementary portion of the circle of 400,000 stades, considered as the circumference of the terrestrial globe. This circumference had been therefore previously calculated and deduced from geodæsical and astronomical operations, as well as from mathematical reasoning, without which, it could not have been known: this is not all; this same stade, applied to the terrestrial degree, is found to give it an extent of 57,002 fathom one foot nine inches six lines, which differs by a little less than seventy-three fathom, from the measure obtained by the academicians in the last century. This measure is, as every body knows, 57,075 fathom

for the latitude of Paris (49° 23′) = 56,750 under the equator, and 57,438 at Torne, in latitude 65° 50′. Whence we are to conclude, that as the degrees increase as we advance from the equator to the pole, it is in a mean latitude that the one which presents us 57,002 fathom and a fraction,* must have been measured.

A last fact remains to be ascertained: had the tower of Belus, at its first foundation, about the year 3190 or 3195 before our era, according to the Jews and Chaldeans, the same dimensions of a stade

* If the degrees increased regularly from the equator to the pole, we could determine in what latitude the one we speak of was measured; but operations, executed in different latitudes, prove that this progression is not regular. Besides, the same place measured by different persons and methods, gives different results: it is that thus the measure ordered near Paris by the Academy of Sciences, gave sixty-seven fathoms more than the measure ordered by the Institute. It would be however curious to measure a terrestrial degree by the common method, in the country of Babylon: the Arabs performed this operation under the Kaliphate of El-Mâmoûn.* Unfortunately, the true result of their mensuration is hard to be ascertained in this circumstance. It is however remarkable that all the ancient stades, Pythian, Olympian, Nautic, Egyptian, &c. are equally exact aliquot parts of a circumference of the earth, measured according to the principles and by the methods we are acquainted with; and that all these stades give to the terrestrial degree an extent which varies only by some fathoms above 57,000 fathom, the Pythian stade excepted. According to Romé de Lille, the stade of Eratosthenes gives 57,166 fathom; the Nautic stade 57,066; the Olympic stade *idem;* the Phileterian stade 50,070; the Ægyptian stade 57,066; the Pythian stade 56,000 fathoms to a degree.

* *See* Notice des Manuscrits Orientaux, Tom. I. page 51, and following.

in height by a stade at the base? If so, it would prove that already at that period the astronomical science of the Chaldeans was arrived at the degree we indicate, and that is more than probable. In all cases, this period of 3190 years before Jesus Christ furnishes reasonable chronologers with the space necessary to class, on the one hand, the Babylonian observations sent by Kallisthenes to Aristotle, and ascending to the year 2234 before Jesus Christ; on the other hand, the foundation of the temple of Hercules at Tyre, which his priests assured Herodotus ascended to a year, corresponding to 2725 before Jesus Christ. As to those who deny all facts that do not enter into their biblic system, any reasoning with them is useless, being proscribed beforehand.*

* Here a passage of Cicero finds its place, who, speaking of the principles of the art of *divining*, says (*Lib. I. Cap. 2. de Divinatione.*) "Ascending to the remotest authorities, I find in the earliest times the *Assyrians*, who, on account of the extent and planimetry of the countries they inhabited, discovering on all sides an uninterrupted horizon, observed the motions of the stars both peculiar and relative, and, on their aspects, founded the art of horoscopes," &c.

These *Assyrians* of Cicero cannot be those of Nineveh, whose country is situate at the foot of mount Taurus; they must be those of Babylonia, thus called by the Greeks before Herodotus's time. But, as it is proved that before Ninus this country was the seat of a polished state and of a numerous and civilized Arabian population like Egypt, it follows that it is to this people we ought to apply the words of Cicero: "*Principio Assyrii* ut *abultimis* autoritatem repetam (propter planitiem magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cùm cœlum ex omni parte patens et apertum intuerentur (he should have added *perlucidum*) trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt.")

CHAPTER VIII.

PROBABLE HISTORY OF SEMIRAMIS.

After reducing to an admissible and credible state the works of Semiramis, which, nevertheless, preserve their gigantic character, let us not quit this highly interesting subject, without endeavouring to acquire reasonable ideas of that extraordinary woman, who holds the first rank of her sex in history. Diodorus Siculus has handed down to us two accounts of her fortunes, and of the manner in which she acquired that supreme authority which she administered with such a firm hand. According to one of these accounts, which is Ktesias's: "Semiramis was born in Syria, at Ascalon, of the clandestine amours of the goddess Derketo, and of a young sacrificator of her temple: the child exposed in a desert place, among rocks, was miraculously nourished and saved by a flock of wild pigeons, whose coop* was in that spot. A year after, some shepherds discovered this orphan, and finding her very handsome, they carried her away and gave her to the steward of the royal studs (called *Simma*), who, having no children, adopted

* These wild coops are still at the present day very frequent in Syria and Palestine; pigeons are found there in thousands.

and called her *Semiramis*, that is to say *dove*, in the Syrian language; hence comes the worship of pigeons in the country." *Such*, says Diodorus (or Ktesias), *is the fable related of Semiramis.* And, in fact, this is a mere fable; but omitting the story of the pigeons and of the goddess, we have the reasonable fact, that really Semiramis was born at Ascalon, of the clandestine intrigue of some priestess, and that, privately educated, she was adopted by the person mentioned. All this agrees with the manners of the country and the age.

"When marriageable, continues Ktesias, she made, by her extraordinary beauty and talents, the conquest of one of the king's principal officers. This officer's name was *Memnon;* being come to inspect the stud, he carried Semiramis to Nineveh, and had two children by her. The war of Bactriana ensued, Semiramis accompanied her husband in it. Ninus defeated the Bactrians in the open country, but he in vain besieged their capital, where they had shut themselves up, when *Semiramis*, disguised as a warrior, found means to scale the rocks of the fortress, and by a *signal raised* on the wall, gave notice of her success to Ninus's troops, who then made themselves masters of the town. Ninus, charmed with the courage and beauty of Semiramis, requested Memnon to yield her to him; the latter refused, Ninus persisted, Memnon killed himself from despair, and Semiramis became queen of the Assyrians." Such is,

says Diodorus, the account of Ktesias (page 134, b. 11.)

But Atheneus and other writers assure, " that Semiramis was originally a courtesan, whose grace and beauty attracted the attention of Ninus. At first, this woman's credit was nothing extraordinary; but afterwards it encreased so much as to induce Ninus to marry her; and finally, she persuaded him, in a festival, to allow her to reign *five days.*"

This second interpretation, more natural, more historical than the first, is further confirmed by an anecdote preserved by Pliny. " About the 107th olympiad, says this author (from 349 to 352 before Jesus Christ,) among many able painters flourished *Echion*, who acquired celebrity by several fine pictures: among others, his *Semiramis* is particularly admired, who, from a *servant*, *became queen.*"*

Here is a remarkable testimony in favor of Atheneus's account. It is known, that ancient painters were learned and scrupulous in history. If Echion, who flourished less than thirty years after Ktesias, disdained his account and preferred the second, it follows that already at that epoch the interpretation followed by Atheneus existed, and was looked on as the truest. In fact, it bears a

* Book XXXV. chap. x. page 224, of Pliny's Natural History, translation of Poinsinet.

character really historical, and conformable to the manners of ancient and modern Asia. That a girl of obscure birth, a foundling, should be educated by strangers; that given or sold she should be admitted into the sultan's séraï; that she should be introduced into the harem as *Odalisk*,* or *chamber-maid;* that, in fine, she should obtain the rank of sultaness-queen, is an historical romance still realised every century in Asia. Besides, this interpretation of Atheneus, which coincides very well with the corrected commencement of Ktesias, has the further merit of resolving the chronological difficulties that occur in his account, where the events are too close together, and it is moreover supported by a fact mentioned in two other authors; for Moses of Chorene and Kephalion agree in saying, that Semiramis put to death *all her children*, except young Ninyas. In Ktesias's account, she had *two* by Memnon her first husband; but they were not *king's* children, and could not give her umbrage; whereas, according to Atheneus's account, she might have had, whilst an *odalisk*, by Ninus several children already grown up, and fit to reign, consequently made to give her uneasiness. Then we may suppose, without any effort, that Semiramis entered the séraï about the age of twenty, that she lived there as an odalisk and had children by Ninus, during a space of time

* *Oda*, in the Turkish language, chamber.

that might have lasted twenty other years. This time was employed by her to establish that credit and ascendancy which finally subdued Ninus. The war of Bactriana having broken out, she there followed the king, and it was then that the courageous exploit mentioned by Ktesias made her become queen. Her very name seems to allude to this circumstance; for it is not true, that *Semiramis* means pigeon or dove,* in Syriac; whilst this word, when decomposed, *(shem rami)* signifies the *sign raised* on the walls of Bactra, which became the signal of Ninus's victory and of the favorite's advancement. Reckoning from that year, which was the year 1201, all the events would happen as they are laid down by the author of the chronology of Herodotus, page 114. But we should correct the preceding dates by saying, that Semiramis entered the séraï about 1221, and was born about 1241. She would then have lived sixty-one or sixty-two years, precisely as stated in Ktesias: if her pride required that all the time of her co-habitation with Ninus should be included in her own reign, she might have reigned forty-two years, as this author also says, and all is harmony in the ac-

* *Dove* and *pigeon* are expressed by *Iownah*, which has nothing analogous. But we are told, that the ensign of the Babylonian troops was a *dove*, which explains the expression of Jeremiah and of the psalm *Exurgat, fly the anger of the dove.* These ensigns having been instituted by Semiramis, it is possible she was known to the people under that emblem.

count and in the probabilities; by these natural gradations, by this necessary apprenticeship, Semiramis having arrived at supreme power, gave free scope to her character, *passionately fond of every thing that had an air of grandeur:* and ambitious of surpassing the glory of the kings who preceded her, she conceived*, after the death of Ninus, the project of building a city in Babylonia. Ninus had just founded an immense one at 100 leagues from thence, and lo his widow wishes to construct another, not greater (Strabo says that Babylon was smaller,) but better planned. Nineveh was, therefore, in a position the disadvantages of which were already felt. The situation of Babylon offered, therefore, superior advantages: the talent of Semiramis consisted in discerning them, and her success is considered as a proof of her genius. In fact, when we examine the geographical and political circumstances of this operation, we think we discover several of the motives that gave rise to it. *Nineveh*, situate on the eastern bank of the Tigris, in a plain producing all sorts of grain, in the vicinity of hillocks covered with fruit-trees, under a clear serene sky, Nineveh enjoyed a position the most favored in several respects; but was deprived of one of the elements necessary to the prosperity of capitals. It had no navigation. The Tigris, though a broad deep river, is so rapid in its course, so

* *See* the text, page 157.

sunk in its bed, that carriage is always dangerous, difficult, and partial upon it. There is no going against the stream, and moreover, above Nineveh its course is confined to so small a territory, that very little provisions can be brought from it.

The Euphrates, on the contrary, finds immense resources above Babylon; it touches on Syria; it penetrates into Asia Minor, by one of its branches; it trades with all Armenia by the others; it draws in the produce of all the mountainous countries bordering on the Euxine, it transports them with less danger than its rival; but what above all ensures to it the preponderancy, it communicates with the ocean by a slower current, by a more commodious channel than the Tigris, so that from the Persian gulf, boats can ascend it higher and more easily than the Tigris. A city built on the Euphrates was, therefore, called to that splendor which commerce confers: and, at that period, the Persian gulf was the centre of the richest and most active trade, between Western Asia, Syria, Persia, Arabia Felix, Ethiopia, and the interior of Africa; this commerce was then equal to that of India. The habitual wars of the nations bordering on the river, by interrupting the communications, by forcing to have recourse to the expensive caravans of the Bedouin Arabs, had retarded its progress. This cause had just ceased; all neighbouring Asia obeyed the same sovereign, whose authority was every where respected. This commercial motive was already

sufficient; Semiramis had two other political and military ones.

The inhabitants of Chaldea were a people recently conquered, consequently discontented and disposed to shake off the yoke. A good way to overawe them was to establish near them, in the midst of them, a fortress with a strong garrison. This object was accomplished by the portion of Babylon built in the Euphratic isle; but why construct the other portion to the west of the river, on the borders of the wilderness? Here again we discover the sagacity of the founder: when projectile arms had no great range, if only one bank of the river was occupied, they would not have had a sufficient command over the other. They had in the desert a vagabond, turbulent enemy, who was to be kept in respect: a formidable citadel effected this purpose. Babylon, seated on both banks of the Euphrates, affrighted the Bedouin Arabs; but, at the same time, it became the means of attracting and attaching them, because it offered them the most convenient market, and the most advantageous to dispose of their superfluous flocks, or the booty of their foreign excursions.

This entire domination of the river, which was a refinement of art over Nineveh, produced also an augmentation of military and commercial power. All the Bedouins became vassals through fear or interest. The choice of the precise position of *Babel* was a most refined and sagacious stroke of

policy. The fortress might have been indifferently erected higher up or lower down; but Semiramis finding in a given point a celebrated temple, which, according to the custom of the times, was a place of pilgrimage for all the Arabian tribes, she took advantage of this religious means of gaining them over; by adorning the temple, by loading it with presents, she flattered the people; by caressing the Chaldean priests, by endowing them, she attached them to her, and by their means gained the affections of her subjects. Finally, a last motive for her choice must have been, that, some leagues higher up, the Euphrates had and still has *rapids* or *breakers*, which hinder boats from going up loaded. The city became a mart-town.

From these combinations, too natural not to be true, we must no longer be surprised at the success of Semiramis. It was complete against Nineveh, since that city only subsisted six centuries, whereas twelve were necessary to annihilate Babylon; and yet its immense ruins, buried in a space of several leagues,* still remain as a monument of its existence. We should read in Diodorus the remaining actions of that prodigious woman, and see how, after founding her metropolis, she created in a few months, in Media, a palace and an immense garden, and undertook afterwards against the Indians

* *See* Memoires de Beauchamp, Journal des Sçavans, Decembre, 1790.

an unsuccessful war, from whence she returned to Assyria to construct works, the curious details of which are given by Moses of Cherone in the fourteenth chapter of his History of Armenia. So great was her activity and renown, that *after her, all great works in Asia were attributed by tradition, to Semiramis.** Alexander found her name inscribed on the frontiers of Scythia, then looked on as the limits of the habitable world. It is no doubt this inscription which Polyænus has handed down to us, in his interesting collection of Anecdotes (Stratag., Book VIII. chap. xxvi.)

Semiramis speaks herself:—

Nature gave me the body of a woman;
But my actions equalled me
To the most valiant of men (to Ninus);
I governed the empire of Ninus,
which towards the east touches the river Hinamam (the Indus);
towards the south the country of incense and of myrrh
(Arabia-felix);
towards the north the Sakkas (Scythians),
and the Sogdians† (Samarkand).
Before me no Assyrian had seen the sea;
I have seen four where no one goes,
So distant are they.
What power opposes their overflowings?

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* *Strab.*, Lib. XVI.

† She says nothing of the western frontier, the *Mediterranean;* and this silence is against Ktesias in favour of Herodotus. Semiramis would not have omitted so remarkable a kingdom as Syria, her native country: she must, from vanity, have omitted so limited a frontier as that of the Euphrates.

I compelled the rivers to flow where I desired,
And I desired only where they could be useful:
I rendered fruitful the barren land,
By watering it with my rivers:
I erected impregnable fortresses:
I pierced with roads, inaccessible rocks:
I paved with my own money high-ways
Where before were seen only the footsteps of wild beasts,
And in the midst of these occupations,
I found time enough for me
And for my friends.

In this table, so simple and so grand, the dignity of the expression and propriety of the facts seem to vouch themselves for the truth of the monument. We therefore cannot admit the opinion of some writers, who consider Semiramis as a mythological personage of India or Syria.* It is possible the word *Semirami* may have a *Zend* or *Sanscrit* etymology; but, besides the fortuitous case of analogies of this nature, this word, transmitted to us by the Persians, might be substituted by them to the Syrian name of the wife of Ninus, as the word *Zohâk* was substituted to the name of *Haret*, as that of *Esther* to the word *hadossa*, signifying myrtle, in Hebrew. The following article tends to confirm this idea, by the singular coincidences proceeding from an account preserved by Photius, in his Greek library.†

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IV. Wilford's Dissertation concerning Semiramis.

† The epoch we assign Semiramis, finds a singular confirmation in a passage of Porphyry quoted by Eusebius. *Præp. Evang.* Lib. I.

CHAPTER IX.

NARRATIVE OF CONON AND ROMANCE OF ESTHER.

I HAVE read, says Photius (page 427 of his Library), I have read the little work of Conon, dedicated to Archelaus Philopator, containing fifty

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page 30. According to Porphyry, "the Phenician historian *Sanchoniaton* flourished before the war of Troy, in an age approaching that of Moses, *as could be proved by the Annals of the Phenician kings:* and he was contemporary with Semiramis, who was supposed to live a very short time before the war (or capture) of Troy, or even parallel with it."

On this text we remark, that most Greek writers assign this capture to the year 1184 before our era: in our calculations Semiramis reigned from 1195 to 1180: here the synchronism is complete, and the more conclusive, as Porphyry states it to be the result of the Assyrian, Phenician, and Greek chronologies, compared all three together. The interpolations of Ktesias are thus condemned and rejected.

This same fragment of Porphyry gives rise to another singular combination: this writer says, "that Sanchoniaton, the better to ensure the truth of the facts, consulted very ancient Ammonite monuments, and one *Jerombal*, a jew, priest of the god Jeou."

On perusing the Jewish books, we find one of the judges specially called by the surname of *Jero baal (enemy of Baal);* this judge is *Gedeon*, who, as being a prophet sent by God, merits also the name of *priest:* Gedeon is therefore here supposed to have governed about the year 1190, and longer: his end preceded by fifty or sixty years the accession of Eli in 1131. The imperfect list we criticised in the article of the Judges, (first part of the *New Researches*), offers a great deal more, as may be seen here:—

anecdotes extracted from various ancient authors. The ninth is concerning Semiramis. Conon represents her as the daughter, and not the wife of Ninus. To explain myself summarily, he attributes

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Gedeon-Jero baal dies about 1190.		
Abimelech reigns - - -	3	years.
Thola		
Jaïr governs - - - -	22	
Total - -	25	years.
Servitude under the Ammonites and Philistines	18	years.
Jephtha - - - -	6	years.
Ibzan - - - -	7	
Ajalon - - - -	10	
Abdon - - - -	8	
Total - -	31	
Servitude under the Philistines - -	40	years.
Sampson - - - - -	20	

Eli judges in the year 1131.

Rejecting the fabulous Sampson, and admitting with several chronologers, that the forty years servitude under the Philistines were parallel with the forty years of Eli: we have already only twenty-eight or thirty years from that high-priest in 1131 to Jephtha, who administered about 1166. On the other hand, between Jephtha and Gedeon, Josephus does not admit *Thola*; the servitude under the Ammonites and Philistines might affect only some tribes, while Jair governed the others. There would then remain only twenty-five years between Jephtha and Gedeon, who would have died about 1190; and as the indications of Porphyry are not precise, Gedeon can be removed to near the year 1200. These are only hypotheses, it may be said; but the authority of Porphyry, whom his very enemies allow to be a learned writer, may very well counter-balance here that of an undigested compilation, especially when Porphyry is supported by positive, regular monuments, whose expressions agree with the reasonings we have drawn up from other foundations, and by other means.

to Semiramis all that other writers relate of the Assyrian *Attosa* (Atossa). Had she two names? or was he the best informed? This is what I cannot answer. He tells us that Semiramis had at first a clandestine commerce with her own son, without knowing him; that afterwards, the fact being discovered, she married him publicly; which was the cause that among the *Medes* and *Persians the marriage of children with their mothers*, which at first was an execrable crime, became a *lawful and avowed act.*"

It is important to know if this account is purely paradoxical, or if it contains some information on the present question.

First, We remark that Conon was rather a late writer, since his patron, Archelaus, was one of the Herods carried by Julius Cæsar to Rome, where he spent many years.

Secondly, The fifty anecdotes of which Photius gives an extract, are for the most part taken in the remotest antiquity, in times called heroic and fabulous, with an affectation of singularity that betrays the formal design of amusing an unoccupied prince; but they cannot be proved to be absolutely false, nor to be an apocryphal invention reducing them to a mere romance. In the anecdote of Semiramis, Photius observes that the facts attributed by Conon to that princess, are given by other authors to the *Assyrian Atossa*. There would be in that case only a transposition and confusion of name. Who

was this *Attosa*, or *Atossa?* The Persians mention one who was born the daughter of Kyrus, and became the wife of Cambyses (her own brother), afterwards of Smerdis; it cannot be she.

The historian Hellanicus, contemporary with Herodotus, speaks of another, who in ancient times invented the art of writing or sending missive letters;* this may be the one; but he calls her *queen of the Persians*, and no other action of hers is known.

Finally, Eusebius, in his Chronicle,† furnishes us with a more precise fact. "*Atossa*, who is *Semiramis* (or who is called *Semiramis*),‡ was the daughter of Belochus (eighteenth king of Assyria), and she reigned twelve years with her father."

Here we have an *Assyrian Atossa*, like Conon's, and two names for the same person, as Photius suspected. From these various examples we may conclude,

First, That the name of *Atossa* was common to several women among the Persians and Assyrians;

Secondly, That it is possible these women wished to be called by the illustrious name of *Semiramis*, or that Semiramis might have been called *Atossa* whilst she was in a private station. In either case, mistakes and confusions must have

* Tatian, page 245.

† Eusebius, page 13.

‡ *Atossa quæ et Semiramis.*

taken place; and when we peruse the history of the Medes and Persians, we meet a fact which unites in a remarkable manner several circumstances of the narrative of Conon.

According to Ktesias, the daughter of *Astyag*, king of the Medes, named *Amytis*, became the wife of Kyrus: according to Herodotus, the daughter of this same Astyag was mother of this same Kyrus: Ktesias, who contradicts Herodotus, does not dare avow this fact; but he insinuates it when he says: "Kyrus did not at first know *Astyag to be his relation* (or grandfather); when he had him in his power, he set him at liberty, and honoured Amytis as his *own mother;* afterwards he married her." Now we should observe, that no author states that incest was lawful among the Assyrians and Babylonians, whereas all allow that this practice prevailed *among the Persians and Medes. The marriages of brothers with sisters, of mothers with their sons, was an ancient and legal custom of the cast of the Magi*, says *Xantus of Lydia*,* before the time of Herodotus. Hence the verse of Catullus:

Nam Magus ex matre et gnato nascatur oportet.
A Mage should be born of a mother married to her son.

On the other hand, we know that the religion and rites of the Magi, essentially Mede and Zoro-

* Clement Alex. Strom., Book III. page 185.

astrian, were adopted by Kyrus. His son Cambyses married his own sister *Atossa:* is it not natural to conclude from all this, that it was *Kyrus* who introduced incest among the Persians, as Conon says, and that he here represents *Ninyas* as Astyag represents Ninus. But whence this error? No doubt it consists in this. Ninus, among the Medes, was a *Zohâq*, as *Astyag* among the Persians. But as there was some analogy between the adventure of Semiramis, who was enamoured of her son and endeavoured to seduce him, and the adventure of Amytis, who lived clandestinely with her son, and married him, these several personages were confounded by some romancing historian, such as the Persian historians are at this day.*

As to the *Semiramis* called Atossa, *daughter of Belochus*, according to Eusebius, her twelve years reign differ but little from the fourteen or fifteen we have found for the wife of Ninus,† and Ninus may very well be *Bel-ochus*, which signifies *Bel's brother*, for placed about the middle of the 1200 years of Ktesias, he is at the head of the doubled

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* Atheneus mentions two examples of a similar confusion of names by historians of his time: one saying that Nineveh was taken by *Kyrus* instead of *Kyaxar;* the other, that at Nineveh was seen the tomb of *Ninus* instead of *Ninyas.* Atheneus, by making himself these remarks, shews that such instances were very common.

† It seems, also, that this Semiramis must be the one Herodotus had in view in consequence of this confusion.

list, which is proved to be erroneous by the chronology of Herodotus (page 13, Vol. II.)

But whence comes this name of *Atossa* or *Attosa* given to Semiramis? On reading the Jewish anecdote of Esther, we remark that her Syrian or Hebrew name was *Hadossa*, signifying *myrtle;* that she came from Syria like Semiramis; that she was an odalisk at the court of the great king Assuerus: but Assuerus is the name that the Greek text gives to the *Assur* or *Assyrian* of Genesis, *who built Nineveh:* this Assuerus married the Jewess *Hadossa*, as Ninus married the Ascalonitess *Atossa;* both, from *servants became queens*, as was represented in the picture of the painter Echion, before the time of Alexander. Commentators could never ascertain in what time this Assuerus lived, nor where he was king, nor who this Esther was whose history is classed by critics among the Apocryphal books. It seems to us almost evident that the name pronounced *Atosa* by the Greeks, is identical with the *Hadosa* of the Syrians; that Esther is no other than Semiramis, whose history, extracted from the same book as Echion's picture, was new-modelled by some Jewish author, to appropriate it to his nation; so that we have here two Jewish writers who disfigured the truth, in order to amuse their readers: we shall soon see others in the same predicament, but much less amusing.

CHAPTER X.

BABYLON SINCE SEMIRAMIS.

After Ninus had conquered Babylonia, and destroyed the race of native kings,* this prince, we are told by Ktesias, *imposed on the country an annual tribute;* that is to say, he made it a province of his empire, administered like the others by a *viceroy* or *satrap*. Semiramis having afterwards founded the immense fortress of Babylon, this city became the natural and necessary residence of the viceroy; this viceroy, by the nature of his place, must have been removeable at the sovereign's will, as were the satraps of the Persian empire (the administration of which was modelled on that of Nineveh), as are still in our own times the Pachas of the Ottoman empire. All these Asiatic organisations resemble each other. This state of things subsisted during the whole duration of the Assyrian empire. We have proofs of it:

First, In the corps of Babylonians sent by Teutamus to the assistance of Troy.†

Second, In the exchange Salmanasar made of a colony of Babylonians for a colony of Hebrews of Samaria;

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* *See* Ktesias in Diodorus, Book II.

† Ktesias and Moses of Chorene.

Third, In all the details of the revolt of Belesis-Merodax, against Sardanapal;

Fourth, In the uncontested vassality of this same Belesis under *Arbak*, who, as conqueror of Sardanapal, and successor of the *great king*, conferred on the Babylonian the satrapy of his province *exempt from tribute*, and granted him a pardon for a public robbery against the advice of his peers assembled;

Fifth, Finally, in these expressions of Herodotus:* "*the city of Babylon, after the fall of Nineveh, became the residence of the kings of Assyria.*"

It therefore was before but a dependant city, a provincial town. Our two authors agreeing on this period, seem to differ on that of the Mede administration; for Herodotus's text implies an independent sovereignty after Belesis, whereas, according to Ktesias, Babylon continued to be the vassal of Ecbatana, on the same terms as under Nineveh; and he gives a remarkable instance of it in the anecdote of Parsodas and *Nanibrus, governor* of Babylon, who *acknowledges himself* justiciable to *(Kyaxares), Artaïos.* Whence it results that the kings of Babylon were really independent and hereditary only after Nabopol-asar, father of Nebuchadnezzar; and the official list, called Ptolomy's astronomical *kanon*,† confirms this inference, be-

* Lib. I. § 178.

† *Norma, Regula.*

cause from Nabopol-asar ascending to Belesis (Mardokempad), it reckons eleven reigns or mutations in the short space of ninety-six years, which allows only nine entire years to each reign, and which consequently excludes the idea of hereditary succession.

After Belesis, during the circumspect reign of Déiökès, *who commanded only the Medes, when each nation lived free and under its own laws*, there is reason to suppose that there existed in Babylon olygarchical agitations, during which military or sacerdotal chiefs supplanted each other rapidly in the possession of power. This is natural, and it is no less so that Phraortes, become powerful by the conquest of Persia, should recover his superiority over Babylon by means of one of the contending factions. This prince having perished in his expedition against *Nineveh*, his son Kyaxarès (Artaïos), inherited his rights; but the invasion of the Scythians, in 625, having shut him up in his strong places and mountains, Nabopol-asar and Nebuchadnezzar, safe in their *island*, protected against the Scythian cavalry by their rivers and canals, took advantage of the weakness of the Mede, and rendered their royalty independent and hereditary in their family.

Against this state of things, that is conformable to reason and authorities, it may be asked, how we account for both the title of *king* given by the official list to the Babylonian princes after Nabona-

sar, and the arbitrary act of that prince, who suppressed the names of all his predecessors, which act and title seem to imply an absolute independence.

We answer that this objection, plausible in the manners and customs of Europe, is not a real difficulty in the customs of Asia. The Arabian and Chaldean word *malek*, translated *king*, has not strictly the sense we give it: it suffices to have read the history of the ancient *East*, to know that this title often means only *commander* of a province or even of a city. When the Hebrews enter Palestine, there is not a city or town without a *malek*, or *king*, and certainly these petty princes were not independent absolute kings. This indiscriminate use of the word *king*, owes its origin and motives to the political state of these countries. Primitively, before states had swallowed each other up, each people, governed by its own laws, had its *malek*, its particular king. Great conquerors, such as Sesostris and Ninus, having appeared, they found it their interest to maintain the petty kings, who submitted voluntarily, in the possession of their dominions, and to exact from them only a tribute; or, in other words, the conquerors left them their *titles*, which were of no importance, and took from them their *riches*, which were every thing; and hence the denomination of *king of kings*, of which the first example occurs in Sesostris, but which probably was in use long before.

Reduced to obedience and vassality, these inferior *kings* were in reality only governors of provinces, *satraps*, according to the expression of the Persian idiom; and we find the inverse proof of this synonomy in a passage of Berosus, who, born a Persian subject, wrote according to the genius of his nation; he says:

"Nabopol-asar having learned the revolt of the *satrap who governed Egypt, Cœlesyria* and *Phenicia*, and being no longer able to endure the fatigues of war, confided this expedition to his son Nebuchadnezzar, and died soon after."*

The date of this expedition and of the death of Nabopol-asar is well known to have been between the year 604 and 605. But we know, with the same historical certainty, that, at this period, there was in Egypt no other *satrap* than *king Necho*, who reigned from 602 to 617; and we also know, by Herodotus and the Hebrew books, that Necho was not the overseer of the kings of Babylon, but their powerful enemy, their independent rival, who contended with them for Judea and Syria as far as the Euphrates.† The battle of Karkemis or Kirkesium in 604, decided the question against him. *He withdrew to his kingdom, and came not any more into the land* (or country) *of Judea.*

Berosus, an historian celebrated for his know-

* Joseph. contr. Appion, Lib. I. § 19.

† Kings, Book II. chap. xxiii. ver. 29, and chap. xxiv. ver. 7.

ledge, could not be ignorant of these facts. When, on this occasion, he employs the word *satrap*, it is evidently because, in his asiatic ideas, he considers it synonymous with the word king.* In Syncellus we find another instance of this word being employed in the same sense, by Alexander Polyhistor, when he says, page 209: "Alexander Polyhistor relates, that Nabopol-asar sent to Astyag, *satrap* of Media," &c. Now it is certain, that Astyag was an independent king, and Syncellus, page 14, acquaints us that Polyhistor copied Berosus.

As to the suppression made by *Nabonasar* of the acts and names of his predecessors, it is no more in him a proof of *royal* authority, than it would be in the pachas of Kairo, Damascus, and

* This Persian word *satrap* receives an instructive and curious explanation from the ancient language of India, the sanscrit, which had a great analogy with that of the Persians of Kyrus. When decomposed, it contains two words, signifying *master of the canopy* or *parasol (tshattra-pah* or *pad;)* which lets us know that formerly in Persia, as at present in India and China, the honorific attribute of the governors of provinces was to have a *parasol* carried for them, to pronounce their sentences and decisions under the *parasol*. Also, when lately we had at Paris envoys from the shah of Persia, they and their people were scandalised at seeing the parasol indiscriminately in the hands of every body. Our industry to render this instrument more convenient, has reduced it to one stem or stick: but, originally, it was borne upon two or even four, and it was the canopy, the very ancient oriental use of which has been preserved by priests and kings, and whose motive and intention has been forgotten in our climates.

Bagdad; such a measure they could easily accomplish, and without any other ill consequence than to pay a fine. Only here it is a sign of rebellion and felony, which several other circumstances seem to confirm.

In fact, after Nabonasar's death, in the year 733 (fourteen years after the suppression of the acts, in 747,) we see the king of Nineveh, *Salman-asar*, raise a colony in Babylon itself, and transport it to the country of Samaria, to replace the Jews whom he had just subdued and transported to Mesopotamia. Does not this act of sovereignty and severity seem to proceed from some rebellion that had taken place, and that could not be punished in the lifetime of its author Nabonasar; but at his death, the superior prince might have taken advantage of some troubles to resume his rights; to remove criminals too numerous to be destroyed without danger and without loss; and even if he capitulated with the preponderant faction, he might continue to choose his viceroys in the east, with the precaution of changing them often, as we see in Nabius, Chinzirus, Porus, and Iulaïus, who take up only twelve years.

On the other hand, the official list, Ptolomy's *astronomical kanon*, affects to give to the princes of Babylon, after Nabonasar, the name of *Chaldean*, and not *Assyrian kings*. Now it is remarkable, that the authentic Jewish writers, such as *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and the author of *Kings*,

apply exclusively the name of *Chaldeans* to the Babylonians, and that of *Assyrians* to the kings of Nineveh;* that these Chaldeans, the *Brahminic* and noble cast of the Babylonians, that in which resided the priesthood and primitively the sovereignty; that in consequence of the conquest by the Assyrians, these conquered Brahmins must have lost all civil authority; that the garrison of Babylon must have been composed of strangers, and that even the original colony introduced by Semiramis must have been in a great measure composed of them; but in process of time, in the space of 480 years, the native spirit and Arabian blood must have resumed the ascendancy that the mass of population and habits of climate gave them. Then it is natural to suppose, that the Chaldean cast, watching the opportunity to recover its authority, one of its members, *Nabon-asar*, took advantage of the indolence or embarrassment

* *Paralipomena*, Book II. chap. xxxiii. ver. 11, seems to form an exception, when it says, that king Manasseh was carried captive to *Babylon*, by *the king of the Assyrians*. But it must not be forgotten, that this tardy chronicle could not have been compiled before the time of the Asmoneans, and that at that epoch, the Jewish writers already borrowed the ideas and expressions of the Greeks, who called the people of Babylonia *Assyrians*, so that this very example becomes one of the indications of the posthumousness of Paralipomena: this book, in chap. iii. ver. 17 to 24, reckons seven generations after the return from Babylon; and that alone, at twenty-five years to a generation, brings us down to the year 363, that is, thirty-three before Alexander.

of the sultans of Nineveh, to affect independency, and to convert into *royal authority* that with which he was already invested, as viceroy or pontiff.* Under such circumstances, it is easy to conceive, that this *native*, looking on the viceroys who preceded him, and who were probably Ninivites, as intruders, wished to suppress their names and acts as monuments of servitude; the establishment of this *new* native and Chaldean power explains very naturally a passage of Isaiah, which otherwise would be obscure.

In chapter XXIII. of this writer, verses thirteen and fourteen, we read:

"Behold the land of the Kaldeans; this people was not (before.) The Assyrian founded it (Babylon,) for them that dwell in the wilderness; he set up the towers, he raised the palaces thereof, he established it for the ruin of nations."

This chapter has no date, but it is the continuation of chapter XX., which relates the taking of *Azot*, by *Tartan*, the general of Sennacherib,† and this fact, which was only a short time prior to the siege of Jerusalem by that prince, belongs to the years 722 or 723 before our era. How, at this period, could Isaiah call the Chaldeans a *new people* or *new race*, since the Jews boasted to have

* As very often happens in India, or in Turkey, to tributary princes and pachas.

† *See Chronology of Herodotus*, page 24, note 1.

derived from them, through Abraham, their origin, already very ancient? This is inconceivable, unless we apply this *novelty* to the *resuscitated* power of the *Chaldean race* by Nabonasar; this resurrection dates from the year 747, that is, twenty-five years before, and then these words are well applied, *that was not (before.)* The remainder of the phrase agrees perfectly with Ktesias's account of the origin of Babylon.

Besides, the subject of chapter XXIII. where this passage is found, coincides very well with that period; for it is an anathema against the city of Tyre, *overwhelmed with great misfortunes and menaced with servitude.* But, about the years 731 and 732, Salmanasar* had subdued all the Phenecian cities, except Tyre, reduced to the last extremity by a protracted siege. It is to this siege that the prophet alludes, and not, as some paraphrasts pretend, to Nebuchadnezzar's siege, posterior to it by more than 120 years. All, therefore, leads us to believe, that the Ninevite power did really experience from the viceroys of Babylon, before the delivery by Belesis, what the Ottoman power sometimes experiences from its great vassals, who, during several years, preserving an appearance of submission and tribute, exercise every act of an independent authority and real royalty. The continuation of the facts will throw further light on

* Flav. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic, Lib. IX. chap. xiv. page 506.

this idea; and because our information concerning the Babylonian kings is almost solely derived from the list called *Ptolomy's Kanon*, it will not be amiss to examine the authority of this monument, contested by some writers in order to maintain ancient prejudices.*

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* We do not here combat a singular opinion of *Michaelis*, who, in his book *De Geographiâ hebræorum exterâ*, lays hold on a phrase of Strabo, to conclude from it, that a *savage* and barbarous *tribe*, called formerly *Chalybes*, and more recently *Chaldées*, had come from the shores of the Black Sea, to conquer and take possession of Babylon, as the Turkmans took possession of Bagdad and the Arabian empire. To support this hypothesis, Michaelis pretends, that the names of the Babylonian kings are Russian; consequently, he supposes that the Chalybes spoke a slave dialect, though the best antiquaries make the origin of the slaves to ascend only to the first centuries of our era, when this people migrated, as it appears, from the frontiers of Hindostan. On the other hand, besides that the etymologies he alledges from Forster, are forced and imaginary, it may be objected, that the names of *Nabukadnasar*, *Balthasar*, &c. admit a more natural explanation in the Arabian and Chaldean idiom. As to the phrase of Strabo, Lib. XII. page 549, we remark in the first place with that geographer, that when Homer mentions the name of *Chalybes*, he appears not to have known that of *Chaldæi*, and hence we infer, that the latter was not introduced till after that poet, who wrote about the year 800, before our era; that is to say, some years before *Phul*, king of Nineveh. But all the ancients attest, that the Chaldeans existed at Babylon many centuries before that date, and existed as a sacerdotal and not a military *caste*. We observe, besides, that very soon after Homer, two kings of Nineveh, successors of *Phul*, executed numerous transportations of people, and in the same manner as they transported Cuthean families to Samaria, they might have transported Chaldean families to the country of the *Chalybes*, in the vicinity of the *Sapires*, mentioned by Sennacherib among the nations recently subdued by his fathers. Moreover Strabo, in the same passage, mentions four nations, to whom a similar change of name had

CHAPTER XI.

ASTRONOMICAL KANON OF PTOLOMY.

It is to the learned Joseph Scaliger, that chronologers are indebted for the first notions of this *kanon*, or *regulating catalogue*, extracted from the works of the astronomer Ptolomy. Scaliger, on perusing a manuscript of Syncellus, then unpublished, found in it this historical piece, and hastened to publish it in the first years of the seventeenth century; but because Syncellus produces two and even three versions of this list, all different from one another, doubts arose concerning its utility: Soon after (in 1620,)* Calvisius and Bainbridge furnished better means of appreciating it, by publishing a copy of two manuscripts of Theon, commentator of Ptolomy. In 1652, the transla-

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happened; the *Sanni*, formerly *Macarones;* the *Apaïta*, formerly *Kerkitæ;* and others formerly called *Byzères:* is it not more reasonable to attribute these changes to the historians who made use of other idioms than the old ones; or even to suppose, that Darius was author of them, in the new and regular register he got drawn up for the Persian empire. It is, however, true that Strabo represents the *Chældai Chalybes* as savages at variance amongst themselves, all barbarians, unsociable, living by fishing, hunting, and upon acorns, and it is not likely, that such their hordes should have made so difficult a conquest as that of Babylon, in defiance of the kings of Nineveh.

* *See Procli Sphæra*, in 4to. at the end.

DITION. N. B.			No. III. VARIOUS READINGS OF SCALIGER.	No. IV. VARIOUS READINGS OF PETAU.
Years.	Years.	Months.		
- - -	25	- - -		
- - -	8	- - -	Nassius.	
- - -	5	- - -	- - - - -	Xinzirus *and* Porus.
- - -	5	- - -	Dilulaius - -	Jongaius.
- - -	12			
- - -				
- - -	2			
- - -	3			
- - -	6	- - -	Apo[illegible]icus.	
- - -	1	- - -	He[illegible]	
- - -	4	- - -	N[illegible]	
- - -	8		[illegible]esnoemondacus.	
- - -	13			
- - -	9	- - -	Jeraedinus.	
- - -	14	- - -	Saosduchinus.	
- - -	21	- - -	Kiniladakus - -	Kinil-asanus.
- - -	43	- - -	- - - -	Nobo *or* Labopolosar.
- - -	5	- - -	- - - -	Labokolasar.
- - -	3	- - -	- - - -	Jaloarosam.
		- - -	Noregasolurus -	
- - -	19			
	289			
	31			
	8			
- - -		7		
	36			
	20			
	41			
- - -		7		
- - -		2		
	19			
	40			
	5			
	4			
	6			
	6			
	217		4	
	209			
	426		4	

tion of the book of *George the Syncellus*, by Goar,* from a manuscript different from Scaliger's, offered new readings of the names; in 1663, the learned jesuit Petau, who had at first adopted the version of Scaliger, in his treatise *de Doctrina temporum*,† rejected it for a better one he found in a third manuscript of the same Theon. ‡ In fine, the learned Englishman Dodwell, in a very well-written dissertation, having confronted § and discussed all the versions then known, and the different opinions, gave a clear and fixed state to the question, consisting in the following articles:—

First. The list No. I. ought to be considered as most conformable with the manuscripts of Theon, the copier of Ptolomy. The cyphers of numbers are the more exact, as the original author, after each particular reign, sums up the produce of all the preceding reigns; which prevents any alteration, at the same time that this precaution shows us how little the ancients reckoned on the attention and fidelity of their transcribers.

The numbers II. III. and IV. represent the different readings given by *Scaliger Petau*, and Syncellus, edition of Goar.

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* *Syncelli Chronographia*, in fol.

† *Doctrina Temporum*, tom. II. page 125, year 1627.

‡ *See Rationarium Temporum*, at the end. Petau does not give the number of the manuscript; but it is that of the imperial library, quoted 2407; another, quoted 2494, page 126, supports the former.

§ In 8vo. 1684. Appendix to the Dissertations on Saint Cyprian.

They serve to prove this negligence of transcribers, since the proper names that compose these lists are sometimes altered in several ways (for instance, *Iluarodamus)*: it must therefore be a *truth, a principle of criticism*, for all impartial minds, that, "whenever there exists only one or two manuscripts of an ancient work, there can be no guarantee, no moral certainty of its identity with the original work, such as it was written by the author." Among the ancient books in our possession, are there many that can answer this condition?

Second. In the version he calls *astronomical*, No. II. A. and which he pretends to have copied from Ptolomy, it is clear that Syncellus dared, as was his custom, to alter and change the duration of several reigns, by giving, for instance, to *Saosduchios nine years* instead of twenty; to *Nabonadius* thirty-four instead of seventeen; to *Iluarodam* three instead of two, &c. which are generally found in Theon's manuscripts.

Third. In fine, the version entitled *ecclesiastical calculation*, No. II. B. the first author of which seems to be Africanus, the chief of christian chronologers, this version contains undeniable proofs of the negligence, even of the ignorance, and want of criticism of its ancient compilers.

First. In the confusion they make of very different personages, by supposing, for instance, that Nabonasar is the same as Salmanasar; that Nabo-

nadius is the same as Astyages, or Darius, or Assuerus, or Artaxerces.

Second. In another confusion they make of the reign of Kyrus at Ekbatana, which really requires thirty years, with the reign of Kyrus at Babylon, which requires only nine.

Third. In the liberty they take of changing arbitrarily the well-known duration of several reigns, such as those of Nabonasar, of Nabius, Iluarodam, Nabonide, Kyrus, Ochus, &c. and this, in order to find the final additional sum required by the Kanon; in fine, in their neglecting to fulfil this same condition; for the ecclesiastical calculation, instead of producing exactly 424 years after Alexander, gives 426 years four months, by the needless introduction of the seven months of the Mage, of Sogdian's seven months, of the two months of Xerces II. and of the surcharge of a year on another prince.

By these examples, taken in an important and celebrated subject, we may judge of the ancient writers called ecclesiastical, who all are more or less guilty of similar anachronisms.

The authentic lists of the Chaldean kings of Babylon being thus elucidated and ascertained, it may be asked who was its author? He preceded Ptolomy, since Syncellus remarks, page 206, that "the Chaldean astronomers and the Greek mathematicians employed it habitually to draw their

horoscopes, as is *attested* by the *very learned Ptolomy.*"

Therefore this *kanon*, or *rule* of time, was long prior to that astronomer, and even to Hipparchus, from whom Ptolomy borrowed all. Also, we see Hipparchus denoting some eclipses by the names of certain princes included in the kanon. Dodwell, who studied this subject, was of opinion that the first composition of this *regulator of time* must have belonged to Berosus, that Chaldean priest whom we have so often spoken of.

In favour of this opinion, we see yet more motives than has been assigned to Dodwell.

First. The analogy and almost identity of the fragment of Berosus cited by Fl. Josephus,* where the kings of Babylon, after Nabopolasar, are named and classed as in the list. And if it be objected, that, in the book against Appion, Nabopolasar has twenty-nine years instead of twenty-one, we answer that Eusebius, in his evangelical preparation, Book IX. Chap. XL. and Syncellus,† in his Chronography, page 220, citing the same text of Berosus according to Josephus, give twenty-one years to Nabopolasar; so that Dodwell was right in attri-

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* Joseph. Contr. Aphion, Book I. § 19.

† Syncellus cites Berosus, but it is very doubtful if he had his book before him; for he does not quote a single original passage of his that is not to be [illegible] and elsewhere.

buting the error of the book against Appion to the transcriber, who, instead of writing the Greek words *eikosi en'*, *twenty-one*, wrote *eikosi ennea*, *twenty-nine*. There are a hundred similar instances.

Second. The double quality of historian and astronomer united in the person of Berosus, who, to establish the calculations and astrological predictions, the accuracy of which rendered him so celebrated in Greece, had need of a very exact measure of time, and had, as an historian, the means of choosing it in the most authentic annals.

Third. The passage in Pliny, stating that Berosus gave to the Babylonian observations *a duration of* 480 *years*.

Therefore Berosus drew up this summary calculation of 480 years.

Fourth. The very epoch which first terminated the *astronomical kanon*, to wit, the death of Alexander; was it not natural for Berosus to terminate his chronology at that celebrated epoch, which was also that of his own birth.*

Fifth. In fine, the title of *Chaldeans* given to these *kings* is also a favourable induction, because if the author had been a Greek, he would have called them *Assyrians*, according to the custom of Herodotus, and of almost all Greek authors: it could only have been a native, a Babylonian priest like Berosus, that could have made this learned

distinction, of which a parallel instance occurs amongst the Jewish writers, with this particular circumstance, that the orthography of Berosus comes as near theirs as the Greek language will admit.

The reader has probably remarked, that in the astronomical kanon the names of several princes mentioned by historians are suppressed; for instance, the queen *Nicotris* of Herodotus is not found there, and this silence is an additional proof of what we advanced, to wit, that she was only *regent* during the reign of her husband *Nabokolasar*, who is Nebuchadnezzar. Nor do we find there, after Cambyses, the mage *Smerdis*, though mentioned by Ktesias and Herodotus, or Laborosoachod, though cited in the fragment of Berosus himself (in Josephus). These omissions, however, are neither negligences nor interruptions; they are the result of a calculated system, which would not embarrass or confound the calculation, by introducing into it fractions of years; in fact, Smerdis reigned only seven months; but because Cambyses reigned seven years and five months, the list, by allowing him eight entire years, makes amends for the time of Smerdis. This is also the case with Laborosachod, with Arsès, &c. whose months are revertible on their predecessors.* As to the con-

* Freret and the missionaries have remarked that the same system exists in the chronology of the Chinese, of suppressing the names of the kings when they reigned less than a year.

nexion between this Babylonian chronology and our christian era, it was effected with ease, facility, and certainty, by the dates of the reigns of Alexander, of Darius-Hystaspes, of his son Xerces, &c. concerning which dates the series of the olympic games leaves no doubt. Thus we have, until the year 747 before Jesus Christ, an uninterrupted scale, that furnishes us with an exact term of comparison to judge of the degree of instruction of the authors who, like Herodotus, speak of some event, of some Babylonian king, in the course of this period, until Kyrus, who terminates it. This subject will occupy us in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

KINGS OF BABYLON UNTIL NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

To the exclusive merit of giving us the list of the Babylonian kings after Nabonasar, the astronomical kanon does not unite that of giving us instructive details concerning their reigns, and this deficiency can be but very imperfectly made up in other authors. Without a passage of Syncellus, we should not know why the preceding kings had left no traces after them: it appears, that when

Nabonasar burned their acts, he only followed Ninus's example, who, according to the Syrian historian Maribas,* burned also the histories of the kings that preceded him. Nabonasar's reign, forming an era, commenced on the 26th of February, in the year 747, before Jesus Christ, at mid-day. At the same epoch must have reigned at Nineveh *Teglat-Phal-asar*, who, in the year 742 took Damascus, and carried off some Jewish tribes. It is probable, that Nabonasar was too powerful to be attacked, and that he was satisfied with the appearance of tribute and vassality, as sometimes happens to the Ottoman-port, under similar circumstances. The last year of Nabonasar, in 734, appears to coincide with the time when Salmanasar, another king of Nineveh, was taken up by an obstinate war against the Phenician cities; this prince took Samaria, and transported the Jewish tribes in 730. Nabius, successor of Nabonasar, reigned only two years: Xinzirus and Porus, who reigned five years, had succeeded to Nabius, and saw Salmanasar carry off a colony of Babylonians, who were transported to Samaria. We have said, that such an act indicates a return of power in the Ninivites over the Babylonians.

In 726 reigned Illulaïus, at the epoch when Sen-

* *See* Moses of Chorene, chap. xiii. page 40.

nacherib probably succeeded to Salmanasar. In 721, to *Ilulaïus* succeeded Mardok-empad, the Merodak-Baladan of the Hebrews, and the Belesis of Ktesias. This was the first year of Sardanapal *Asar-adon-phal*, son of Sennacherib, and it should seem, that Merodak was indebted to him for his nomination or confirmation.

From Merodak to *Saos-Duchæus*, in 667, seven reigns and two inter-reigns fill the short space of fifty-four years; which indicates a state of civil dissensions, and opposing factions contending for power.

Parallelly among the Medes reigned Deïokès, who, entirely taken up with domestic concerns, could not trouble the Babylonians. Saos-Duchæus, by his reign of twenty years, indicates a more consolidated state of affairs, on account of the ascendancy of one of the parties. It must be he whose generals carried captive to Babylon Manasseh, king of Judah, who died in 652. The Book of Kings, more authentic than Paralipomena, says nothing of this fact, in itself unimportant. In 645 reigned *Kinil-Adan*, who should be the Nebuchadnezzar of Judith, if saint Jerom had not formally warned us, that in his time the Jews, notwithstanding their devout zeal, avowed that this book was apocryphal, as well as the still more romantic one of *Toby*. If the reader will peruse the annexed note, he will find in it the proof, that

this apocryphalness is admitted by all good critics. *

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* *Apud Hebræos liber Judith inter apocrypha legitur. Hieronymi opera*, tom. 1. page 1170, in fol. 1693.

The learned Bernard de Montfaucon attempted to prove the authenticity of the book and of the fact; but his dissertation, composed in his youth, is only supported by Anachronisms, or Hypotheses, and saves neither the palpable contradictions, nor the evident ignorance of the anonymous author, as well in geography as in chronology. The reader can judge for himself by the extract from Judith we here lay before him.

TEXT OF JUDITH.

Latin or vulgate version.

Arphaxad, king of the Medes, had subdued many nations, and built a great city, which he called *Ecbatana*; and *in the year twelve* of his reign, *Nebuchadnezzar*, king of the Assyrians, who reigned in Nineveh, fought Arphaxad, and conquered him in the great *plain of Ragau, near the Euphrates and Tigres*. And in the year thirteen of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar sent Holophernus. *Eliakim* was then high-priest at Jerusalem, &c.

Greek version.

In the year twelve of Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned over the Assyrians in Nineveh; in the time of Arphaxad, who reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana, which he had built: in that time, the king Nebuchadnezzar made war on king Arphaxad. And in the year seventeen, Nebuchadnezzar fought Arphaxad, defeated him in the mountains of Ragau, pierced him with arrows, and exterminated him unto this day; and in the year eighteen, Nebuchadnezzar sent Holophernus against the children of Israel who returned from captivity. *Joakim* was high-priest at Jerusalem, &c.

"*Arphaxad*, king at Ecbatana, perishing in a war against the Assyrians, can be no other than *Phraortès, who perished in his expedition against the Assyrians of Nineveh*, as Herodotus informs us. But Ecbatana was built by *Deïokès* and not by his son *Phraortès*. This Median king perished in the year 636: at that epoch Josiah, eleven years of age, w— in the third year of his reign, or rather of the re-

The book entitled *Chronology of Herodotus* proves, page 411, that Kyniladan is the Nanibrus

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gency of the high-priest *Hilkiah*. *The Jews returned from captivity.* From what captivity? There were already sixteen years since *Manasseh's* death. Why is the name of *Hilkiah* altered, and different in the two versions? The oldest, which is the Greek one, gives a duration of six years to the war; the vulgate version makes Arphaxad perish in the same year, the twelfth of *Nebuchadnezzar*. It is very true that the year 636 is the eleventh of *Kynil-Adan;* but then one of ther versions must have altered the text. What was the original text? it is impossible to say. The Hebrew, which was the model of the Latin, is mutilated: it was taken from the Greek, which it abridged and mutilated, as all extracts do. The Greek agrees with the Syriac version, which also is very ancient; but neither is the original which was lost. The Latin corresponds better with the chronology of Herodotus, upon which it was calculated or corrected. But Herodotus says, that the Ninivites were independent, that they were abandoned by all the other Assyrians; and the history of Parsodas, in Ktesias, shews us Kynel-adan-nanibrus, the vassal of Artœus-Kyaxarès.

Will it be said that this Nebuchadnezzar, who reigned in Nineveh, was a *native king* unknown to us? In fact, the author of Judith does not say that he was king of Babylon. But then where is his voucher? and when he afterwards adds, that Judith lived to the age of 105 (more than seventy years after this war;) *that Israel was no longer troubled in her lifetime nor for a long time after*, (in 609, Josiah was killed and the country conquered by Necho;) and when, in the canticle of Judith, it is said, *the Persian has shuddered at her boldness; the Mede has been troubled at her strength;* do not all these anachronisms clearly discover the posthumity and ignorance of the author. Besides, his geography is in a manifest confusion, when, tracing the march of Holophernes, he makes him set out from Nineveh, leads him into Cilicia as far as Mount *Angê*, or rather *Argæus:* afterwards, from Cilicia, makes him *cross* the Euphrates to settle him in *Mesopotamia*, and *destroy all the strong towns that were there, from the torrent of Mambré* (which is in Palestine,) to the *Mediterranean* sea. When we see so gross an error added to so many other improbabilities, we adopt the opinion of those who consider the book entitled *Judith* as a

of Ktesias in the anecdote of Parsodas, which took place between the years 633 and 627. It seems that Nanibrus succeeded to Saos-Duchæus, as to his father, with the consent of the Median kings.

After Kinil-Adan, in 625, reigned Nabopolasar, who is the first *Labynet* of Herodotus. It is of him that historian speaks, when, after the battle between the Lydians and Medes, interrupted on the morning of the 3d of February, by the celebrated eclipse of Thales, he says: "Syennèsis, king of Cilicia, and Labynet, king of Babylon, were the mediators of peace; they hastened the treaty, and ensured it by a marriage."

Here the text and common sense require that Syennèsis and Labynet, if present, should be auxiliaries and no doubt vassals, one of the Lydian, the other of the Mede; this coincides perfectly with Ktesias's account: but, it may be said, if the battle took place on the 3d of February in the morning, and, if the reign of Nabopolasar only dates from the 26th of this month (the year 625,) how does Herodotus already call him king? This

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romance written in the time of the Maccabees, to excite Jewish patriotism against the tyranny of the Greek kings. It is possible that in other wars there was some such anecdote, and that some captive Jewess, carried off by the leader of a troop, might have killed him, as it is said Judith did; but the details of this book are such, that it could only be composed by the woman herself, who was the witness and the hero of it (which hypothesis is absurd,) or by the dramatical writer, who found it all in his imagination. Of all the Jewish apocrypha, however, it is the best written and the most interesting romance.

difficulty is easily resolved, by saying, that Nabopolasar was the son of Nanibrus-Kinil-Adan; that, in his quality of heir, he might have led the supplies, even since four years that the war lasted, and that his father dying in the year 624, this year is not reckoned for Nabopolasar, though already king, because in this list the years always belong to the princes who commence them. Besides, Herodotus might call him king by anticipation.

As to the date of the eclipse of Thales, on the 3d of February of the year 625 before Jesus Christ, as admitted by us, it results so positively from Herodotus's text, that we look on it as immutable, (*see* the Chronology of the Lydians, page 306, and following.)

The Scythian invasion having taken place, Kyaxares was, during eighteen years, reduced to be their tributary or their impotent enemy; during this interval the king of Babylon, protected by his rivers, by his canals, by the impregnable ramparts of his city, might brave the Scythian cavalry, or paralyse it like Psametichus, by annual presents; and taking advantage of the weakness of Kyaxares, he might cease to be his vassal, and become only his ally. This can be inferred from a passage of Alexander Polyhistor, quoted by Syncellus, page 220, who informs us,* that "Astibaras (Kyaxares)

* And this after Berosus, since Syncellus observes, page 16, that Polyhistor copies or follows habitually Berosus.

granted his daughter Aroïté, on her being demanded by Nabopolasar for his son Nebuchadnezzar." This event corresponds with the years 607 or 606. The result is, that Nopobolasar must have been the first Babylonian king who was at once hereditary and independent; so that Babylon, in vassalage since its foundation, in 1193, appears to have been a sovereign and independent capital only about the years subsequent to 625, though Herodotus attributes to it that state, immediately after the subversion of Nineveh in 717.

CHAPTER XIII.

REIGN OF NABOKOLASAR, CALLED NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

No doubt can be entertained of the identity of the Nabo-kolasar of the Babylonian list with the Nebuchadnezzar of the Hebrews.* The brilliant reign of this prince seems to have been the natural result of the three preceding, which, during a

* Nabo-kol-asar is well explained by *all-victorious prophet*, or *conqueror of all*. In Nabo-kadn-asar, the word *kadn* must be the Syriac *gad*, signifying *fortune*. Also the Arabs translate this word by *baht-nasar*, fortunate conqueror. *Kadn* might also be the Arabian word *gaddun*, *multum*.

peace of sixty years, strengthened the authority, and accumulated the means of power in an extremely fertile country. On the other hand, the use Nebuchadnezzar made of these means was also the result of his political situation with respect to his neighbours. To the east and north, the Median empire opposed a formidable barrier against him; to the west the little Syrian, Phenician, and Jewish states, divided and weakened, offered an easier prey to his ambition; it took that direction; but because the prolonged resistance of Tyre and Jerusalem obliged him often to renew his expeditions, the dates of which were confounded, it is necessary to re-establish a clear order in this matter.

The first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, as laid down in the astronomical kanon, was the year 604 before Jesus Christ; this date serves as an exact point of departure for all the relative facts, whether prior or posterior.

Jeremiah, whose authority as a contemporary writer is here preponderant during a period of upwards of forty years, observes,* in three different chapters, that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was the fourth of Jehoiakim, son of Josiah. Consequently, Jehoiakim's reign dates from the

* Jerem., chap. xxv. ver. 1; chap. xxxvi. ver. 1, and chap. xlvi.

year 607, and the death of Josiah, his father, is to be placed in the year 608. This prince had reigned thirty-one years; and had, therefore, commenced in the year 638. Jeremiah adds, chap. xxv. that this fourth year of Jehoiakim was the twenty-third since the thirteenth of Josiah, when he, Jeremiah, began his prophetic mission. These twenty-three years before, and comprising 604, ascend to the year 626 inclusively. If we add thirteen full years, we have 639; but the thirteenth year of Josiah should be confounded with the first of the twenty-third, and be only the year 626, in order that the first of Josiah should remain the year 638, as is required by Jeremiah's first calculation.

Josiah perished in a battle he fought against Necho, king of Egypt. This son of Psametichus had begun to reign in the year 617; consequently, 608 was the tenth of his reign.* "He had undertaken, as we learn from Herodotus, to dig the canal which conducts to the Red Sea: 120,000 workmen perished in the attempt. This prince interrupted it upon the oracle's declaring that he laboured for the *barbarian*: the Egyptians call *barbar* all those who do not speak their language."

This barbarian is evidently the Babylonian Na-

* Herod., Book XI. Nos. 158 and 159.

bopolasar, whose power commenced about the year 610 or 611, to alarm Necho. The answer of the oracle supposes a provocative question; it is probable that Necho himself dictated the oracle, in order to have a plausible motive for abandoning the canal and going to conquer Syria. Herodotus clearly denotes the defeat of Josiah, when he adds that Necho fought by land a battle against the Syrians, near Magdol,* and that after obtaining the victory, he took Kadyt-is, a considerable town of Syria."

This city of Kadyt-is is no other than Jerusalem (the holy *Salem,)* as Danville very rightly conjectured. The Arabs have preserved the custom of calling it the *Holy* of holies, *el Qods.* No doubt the Kaldeans and Syrians gave it the same name, which in their dialect is *Qadouta,* the orthography of which is very nearly preserved by Herodotus, when he writes Kadyt-is, since, in old Greek, the *y* is constantly substituted to the oriental *ou;* thus *Bérytos* is *Bérout; Ankyra* is *Angouré,* as *Sylla* is in Latin *Sulla,* &c.

Necho after his victory deposed Jehoahaz, whom

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* The book of Jeremiah, chap. xlvi. writes also *Magdoul;* but that of Kings is more correct when it writes *Magdon* or *Mageddo,* since it is contrary to all probability, that Josiah should go to fight at *Magdol,* which is near Pelusium in Egypt; whilst it is natural that he should oppose Necho, near *Mageddo,* a town of Palestine, from whence he was brought back dying to Jerusalem.

the Jews had elected after Josiah's death: having put his brother Jehoiakim in his place, he went on to conquer Syria, step by step, as far as the Euphrates. Here is that pretended *rebellion of the satrap* of Egypt, which Berosus speaks of in Josephus, (contr. App., Lib. I. § 19,) and which determined Nabopolasar to send against him his son Nebuchadnezzar, at the head of a powerful army. Josiah died in 608; Jehoahaz reigned only three months; Jehoiakim was installed in 607; Necho made his conquests in that same year, and during 606 and 605. He had to subdue several very reluctant though small states, such as the Philistines, the Phenicians, the kings of Damascus, of Hama, of Hems, &c. In 605, he crosses the Euphrates, and enters Mesopotamia. Nabopolasar alarmed, sends against him Nebuchadnezzar, probably in autumn. The armies meet, the battle of Karchemis is fought in 604.* Necho completely beaten, escapes into Egypt, *out of which he went no more*, says the book of Kings. Nebuchadnezzar pursues him rapidly as far as the frontiers of Egypt. He is informed of his father's death: he had to take vengeance of the king of Judæa, Jehoiakim, the creature of Necho; but he was in a yet greater hurry to go and take possession of a throne that had been

* In the fourth of Jehoiakim, the first of Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah, chap. xlvi.

recently elevated. " In these circumstances, says Berosus, he arranged the affairs of Egypt, of Cælesyria and the adjacent countries, and confiding to devoted leaders the conduct of the numerous Syrian, Jewish, Phenician, and Egyptian prisoners whom he carried off, he set out with a small escort, crossed the desert by forced marches, and arrived at Babylon, where the *Chaldeans* invested him with the government, and he succeeded to all the dominions of his father."*

Here we see that in 604, the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar, who becomes king, evacuates Syria, and arrives at Babylon. Is it not at this period we are to place the tribute mentioned in the book of Kings,† when it says: " *Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned eleven years.* In his days Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came up, and imposed a tribute on him. Jehoiakim paid it during three years (604, 603, 602,) then he rebelled against him; and Nebuchadnezzar sent against the country of Judah bands *(latrones)* of Caldees, of Syrians, of Moabites, of the children of Ammon, &c. who destroyed it,‡ and the rest of the acts of *Jehoiakim*

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* Joseph., contr. App., Book I. § 19.

† Kings II. chap. xxiv. ver. 5.

‡ These depredations took place in the year 601, which is the seventh of Jehoiakim. Josephus, therefore, is evidently mistaken, when he says, that in the eighth year of that prince, (the year 600,) Nebu-

is written in the chronicles of the kings. This prince slept with his fathers. His son Jehoiachin, eighteen years old, reigned in his stead during three months, and the generals of Nebuchadnezzar came up to besiege him; then the king arrived himself, and Jehoiachin went out to meet him, and surrendered at discretion, and was carried away to Babylon, in the eighth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (597.)"

Now let us add to these facts, the circumstance of Nebuchadnezzar's marriage with the daughter of Kyaxar, *in Nabopolasar's lifetime*, that is, in the year 606 or 605, when the alarming successes of Necho were the probable cause of this alliance, and we discover an agreement of events and dates which gives to this account a complete historical probability. Why then does Alexander Polyhistor tell us,* " that during the reign of *Jehoïakim*, king of Jerusalem, the prophet Jeremiah having detected the Jews sacrificing to a golden idol named *Baal*, and having predicted calamities that were soon to fall upon them, Jehoiakim ordered *the prophet to be seized and burnt.* But Jeremiah insisted and declared, that the fire would only serve to dress the victuals of the Babylonians

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chadnezzar came with a great army to lay a tribute on him. Josephus was wrong in reckoning from thence the three years tribute.

* Prepar. Evang. of Euseb. Book IX. chap. xxxix.

by the hands of the Jews transferred captives to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar, on learning this prophecy, requested Astibar, king of the Medes, to join him in order to march together against Jerusalem, and having formed an immense army of Chaldeans and Medes, he did in fact lay siege to that city, seized king Jehoiakim alive, and carried off all the gold, silver, and brass in the temple, leaving only the ark and the tables of the law to the care of Jeremiah."

There is certainly an error of dates and a confusion of facts in this fragment; the prophecy meant by Polyhistor must be that of chap. xxxvi. of Jeremiah, where it is said, that "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (604), Jeremiah commanded Baruch to write from the mouth of Jeremiah all that he had foretold since the thirteenth year of Josiah; Baruch having finished his task in the fifth year of Jehoiakim (603) in the ninth month, gave of this book a public reading in the temple: in consequence of the rumour caused by this reading, the book was carried to the king in his winter apartment, where was a fire on the hearth burning before him; this prince read three or four leaves, tore them, and then burnt all the book, leaf by leaf, and commanded that Baruch and Jeremiah should be seized and punished; but they concealed themselves."

This having happened in the year 603, the second of Nebuchadnezzar, when that monarch was

returned to Babylon, he cannot have besieged Jerusalem immediately after and carried off the king, especially as Jeremiah and the Book of Kings say not a word about it. Polyhistor has certainly confounded the expedition of 597, and mistaken Jehoiachin for his father Jehoiakim: it was very easy for a Greek to commit this error; but at this period, when Kyaxares-Astibar besieged Nineveh, that prince could not dispose of his troops, and if the Medes accompanied the Chaldeans, it must have been in the expedition of 605 and 604, against Necho. Thus there is a double confusion.

The source of this error seems to be a passage of Paralipomena. This chronicle says, in chap. xxxvi. Book II.:

"Jehoiakim reigned eleven years, and he did evil in the sight of the Lord. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar, who bound him in fetters of brass to carry him to Babylon, and he *carried off* also the *vessels* of the temple. His son Jehoiachin reigned in his stead, *eight years old*, and he reigned three months and ten days, and Nebuchadnezzar sent and brought him to Babylon *with the vessels*."

There are in this passage several palpable faults. According to the chronicle of *Kings*, Jehoiachin was *eighteen years old*, and not eight, when he reigned. This testimony is confirmed by the circumstance of his voluntarily surrendering at discretion: a child of eight years does not *go out*, he is *carried out*. At this epoch (598), Nebuchadnezzar

had not taken away the vessels of the temple, for Jeremiah, an eye-witness, says, in his twenty-seventh chapter: "Thus saith the Lord concerning the pillars, and the brazen sea, and the brazen vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar *took not away* when he carried off the son of Jehoiakim, and he said unto them: *now shall ye be carried away with Zedekiah.*"

If the vessels were not taken away with the son, they could not have been carried off with the father; and if the father's transportation is mentioned at no epoch, either by Jeremiah, an interested witness, or by the Chronicle of Kings, compiled long before Paralipomena, we have a right to conclude that the latter book, written negligently and at a late period, has introduced this transportation by confounding the father with the son, or through the pious motive of accomplishing the prophetic menaces of Jeremiah, in his thirty-sixth chapter.

From the year 604, when Nebuchadnezzar conducted through the desert his prisoners to Babylon, we do not see that prince re-appear in Syria before 598: it is natural to suppose that the first years of his reign were employed in organizing his empire, in observing the Medes and Scythians, and preparing a last expedition against the two only cities that still held out against him in Syria, Tyre, and Jerusalem. Let us examine the dates of the siege of Tyre.

CHAPTER XIV.

SIEGE OF TYRE.

CHRONOLOGERS find, in the dates of the siege and capture of Tyre, some difficulties,* which are very naturally resolved by our method.

"Our writings, says the historian Josephus,† state that Nebuchadnezzar destroyed our temple in the eighteenth year of his reign, and that this edifice remained thirty years without being rebuilt: the works of its foundations having been resumed in the second year of Kyrus, the re-construction was not terminated until the second year of Darius. To these testimonies I join those of the Phenician archives. Their authority‡ cannot be equivocal, for the Tyrians have very ancient registers of every thing remarkable that happened in their country, or among the nations with whom they were connected. These registers, composed by the public authority, are preserved with care." Here they are conformable in the calculation of the years; we read in them: "In the reign of king Ithobal, Nebuchadnezzar began the siege of Tyre, which lasted thirteen years.

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* *See* Desvignoles, Vol. II. chap. i. of the 4th Book.

† Joseph. contr. App. Book I. § 21.

‡ *Ibid*, § 17.

" To Ithobal succeeded Baal, who reigned - - - - -	10 years.	
After his death, the kings were replaced by judges (or suffetes); in this quality Ekeribal governed - - - -		2 months.
Chelbis, son of Abdaius - -		10
Abbar, high-priest - - - -		3
Mitgon and Gerastrates, son of Abdelemus - - - -	6	
Balator, with the title of *king*	1	
Afterwards Merbal, who was sent for to Babylon - -	4	
Next his brother Irom, also called out of Babylon - -	20	
Total - -	42 years,	3 months.

" In his time Kyrus became powerful among the Persians. All this duration amounts to fifty-four years and three months. The siege of Tyre began in the year seven of Nebuchadnezzar (598): and in the fourteenth year of Irom, Kyrus's empire commenced. Thus the accounts of the Chaldeans and Tyrians agree with ours."

This passage contains contradictions proceeding either from transcribers, or from Josephus himself. First ancient editions say, with the manuscripts, that the temple lay in ruins, not fifty, but seven years, which is absurd; but if instead of seven we read seventy, we descend from the year 787 to 518,

which Josephus might mistake for the second of Darius, by a simple error of two years. The alteration of these seventy into seven, by suppressing the tens, is most assuredly to be attributed to the transcribers. The moderns have substituted the number fifty, which is true in another sense; for, from the year 587 deducting fifty, you have 537, the second year of Kyrus; but it is not Josephus's text.

The fifty-four years three months for the Tyrian kings is another error, which seems to belong to Josephus alone. His list, summed up, gives only forty-two years three months; and if from Irom's twenty years six are deducted, to obtain his fourteenth year, corresponding with Kyrus's accession, there remain only thirty-six years three months. It is true that if this accession be taken for that of 560 to the throne of the Medes, we have thirty-eight years until 598, which answers well; but then the recapitulation of Josephus, which reckons fifty-four years, is false and incompatible with the year 537, since, from thence to 598, there are sixty-one years. To conciliate all, we should suppose that Josephus has omitted six or seven years of the reign of Ithobal, under whom the siege commenced, and this is credible concerning that writer, who has committed several similar faults. This one is unimportant, and counterbalanced by the interesting facts it communicates; to wit, first, thatth e siege of Tyre began in the seventh year of

Nebuchadnezzar (598); secondly, that it lasted thirteen years, and consequently ended in the year 586, one year after the taking of Jerusalem, which agrees very well with chapter xxvi. of Ezekiel, who, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah (587) reproaches the city of Tyre for its joy at the destruction of Sion, and menaces it with the same fate.

The siege of Tyre was at first but a blockade; the war-engines were brought up only in the last year, when the king of Babylon, delivered of the Jews, could unite all his forces for the assault. This is the reason Ezekiel adds, verse 7: "Behold, I will bring against *Sour* (Tyre) Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, with horsemen and with chariots: he shall erect wooden towers, and cast a mount against thee; he shall set engines of war against thy walls," &c. &c. This had made some chronologers believe that the siege had not been begun until then;* but this hypothesis is unsupported.

At this epoch the metropolis of the Tyrians, situated in the continent, had for its citadel a rocky mount, still to be seen in the plain, projecting in the form of a sugar-loaf, at about 1000 fathoms from the sea. This was the point that Salmanasar, king of Nineveh, had attacked about the year 732, and blockaded by cutting a fine aqueduct, the ruins of which are still to be seen. The Tyrians, though

* *See* Desvignoles, Book IV. chap. i.

reduced to the last extremity, resisted him: less fortunate this time, they were taken by storm by the king of Babylon, who treated them like the Jews, and carried off as hostages their most distinguished families. It was from these families that Merbal and Irom were descended, who were sent for by the remains of the people saved from the sword and captivity, and who had settled in a little triangular island at the distance, from their ruined city, of about 16 or 1700 fathoms.* It is there that Alexander found their posterity, in what is called *new Tyre*. The Greeks inform us that a temple of Hercules stood there, the foundation of which ascended to 2300 years before the journey of Herodotus,* that is to say, about 2760 years before our era. It is probable that this spot, formed of a level rock, deprived of fresh water and open to pirates, had no other habitation than this temple and some dependencies, until a colony, compelled by necessity, and furnished with the necessary means, constructed cisterns there, erected walls, built houses, and all the works that characterize a city. Now this colony appears to have been a portion of the inhabitants escaped from the destruction of the ancient continental Tyre; it is therefore of the latter that Josephus says, in another passage, that the Phenician archives placed its foundation 240 years before the temple of the Jews by Solomon. This

* *See* Herod. Book II. chap. xliv.

date answers, according to his calculations, to the year 1256 before Jesus Christ; for we have seen that he counts 470 years between the foundation and its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar (in 586 before Jesus Christ). Justin appears to say the same thing when he places * this foundation of Tyre *the year* befor the ruin of Troy; in fact, according to some Greek historians, the ruin of Troy took place about 1255 or 1256.

Against Josephus and Justin may be cited the authority of the book called *Joshua*, which speaks of Tyre as a frontier-town of the Jewish tribes in their act of partition; but to any one who reads attentively the book called *Joshua*, it will appear evident that these vague and summary accounts of events, without any date, and represented as ancient,† are but a posthumous compilation of traditions and monuments already written, which

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* Justin, Book XVIII. chap. iii. He attributes to the Philistines of Ascalon the taking of Sidon, which occasioned the foundation of Tyre; and the power of the Philistines was at its height in the time of the *Judges*.

† Joshua, chap. ix. ver. 27. "And Joshua made the Gibeonites hewers of wood and drawers of water for the altar of the Lord, *even unto this day*."—*Ibid.* chap. vi. ver. 25: "And the descendants of the harlot Rahab dwell in the midst of the people (of Israel) *even unto this day*." There are found at least ten facts mentioned with this expression *unto this day*, which denotes a duration already far distant from the origin. The Gibeonites appear to have enjoyed until Solomon their privileges, which were violated only by Saul. Thus a great latitude is allowed for the composition of the book of Joshua.

might have been protracted until the time of Samuel; and the citation of the name of *Tyre*, far from being an objection against the official and regular annals of the Phenicians, becomes rather an additional and decisive proof of the late composition of the Jewish book called *Joshua*, whose author and epoch are unknown.

After the conquest of Tyre and Jerusalem,* Nebuchadnezzar, peaceable possessor of all Syria, appears to have retired to Babylon, and spent there the rest of his reign in constructing the prodigious works mentioned in chap. iii. page 15.

It is the inference resulting from the absolute silence of *Berosus* concerning any other foreign and remote expedition, and of Josephus, who, continuing the history of Judea at that epoch, and having before him the writings of Berosus and other historians, would not have neglected mentioning an important expedition; in fine, it is also the result of Jeremiah's writings, who was a con-

* If we are to give credit to the Jews, these obstinate and bloody wars, carried on against them during a century and a half, had no other motive than the anger of the god of Abraham against the worship of idols practised by his posterity. But if we attend to the political and civil state of these remote times, it is easy to perceive that the territorial and commercial riches of the Jews and Phenicians were the real motives of the wars made on them by the kings of the Euphrates and Tigris; jealous, moreover, of the commerce which the Tyrians and Palestines carried on in the Persian Gulf through the Red Sea, causing thereby a derivation of the riches that otherwise would have ascended to Babylon and Nineveh.

temporary author, and lived several years after the destruction of Jerusalem. In what time, therefore, at what epoch, are we to place the pretended conquest of Egypt, imagined by the writers called *ecclesiastical*, and the great expedition of Nebuchadnezzar into *Lybia* and *Iberia*, which has no other voucher than Megasthenes, and afterwards repeated by Strabo, Polyhistor, Josephus, &c.

CHAPTER XV.

PRETENDED EXPEDITION INTO EGYPT, INTO LYBIA, INTO IBERIA, WITHOUT PROOFS AND WITHOUT PROBABILITY.

As to Egypt, Herodotus, who was well acquainted with its history at this period,* does not mention a word, or give the slightest hint of this pretended conquest, which must have made a great deal of noise. He travelled there a hundred years after Nebuchadnezzar, and here is an extract of all he says concerning that period.

Nekos, after a reign of sixteen years, dies (in 602) without any other check than his last campaign *(fully detailed by the Hebrews)*. Psammis, his son, succeeds him, without any mention what-

* Herod. Book II. from N°. 158 to 169.

ever of a recent invasion by the Kaldeans, whose conquests were confined to the torrent of Egypt, according to the Hebrews. Psammis reigns only six years, and dies (597), after having made into Ethiopia, an expedition which proves his security. His son *Apriès* succeeds him (in 596), and was, after Psametichus, his great grand-father, the *happiest* of the kings his predecessors. He reigns twenty-five years; he has by sea successes against the Sidonians and Syrians; but ends by being defeated by the Kyreneans. His troops revolt, and crown Amasis (in 570) who orders him to be strangled, and has a very happy reign. In all these reigns we can discover no indication, no trace of the pretended conquest of the Babylonians.

Jeremiah, whose authority is here invoked as a prophet, proves the negative as an historian; for, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the assassination of Gedaliah, the Kaldean governor, the Jews, who dreaded the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar, *withdrew into Egypt*, says Jeremiah, *because they thought to live in peace and safety there:* therefore the country was not in Nebuchadnezzar's power. The Egyptian Apriès lived there quiet and happy.* It is very true that Jeremiah

* *See* Jeremiah, chap. xlii. xliii. xliv. The fifty-second chapter, verse 30, indicates that this flight happened in the twenty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar (the year 583.) The year following (582), his general, Nabusardan, carried off a number of Jews by way of punishment.

says, in Chapter XLIV. verse 30. "I will give Pharaoh *Haphra* (Apriès) king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, of them that seek his life, as I gave Zedekiah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, his enemy." This refers to the twenty-second year of Nebuchadnezzar (583). To attempt, on the authority of this verse, to prove that Apriès was dethroned by Nabonadius, would be accumulating false citation, false reasoning, confusion of dates and of persons.* On the other hand to pretend, as some learned men more pious than prudent have done, that an event must have happened because a Jewish prophet foretold it, would introduce into history a rule subversive of all order and truth: then we should allow the Indians and Chinese to reason upon our own principles, and it is easy to see what abuses would result from it. Here the truth is, that in the Jewish, as well as other prophecies, we should, according to the advice of several wise Theologians, distinguish between *comminatory* and *executive prophecies*. In the first class, for instance, was Jonah's concerning the destruction of Nineveh: should we, like that prophet, reproach God for not having destroyed a great people to accomplish a prediction? The prophecy of Jeremiah at Tahpanhes, in Egypt, is of the same kind, when he protests that the *throne of*

* *See* Larcher, Chronological Kanon, year 750, page 670.

Nebuchadnezzar should one day be set upon the stones that he hid near the palace. If the absolute silence of history contradicts this event, can such a barrier be got over? Besides, it may be said that the throne of Babylon having been transferred to Kyrus, the prediction was fulfilled in the person of Cambyses, who conquered and became king over Egypt.

As to Megasthenes's account, who supposes that Nebuchadnezzar, *more vaunted than Hercules himself* by the Kaldeans, had surmounted the pillars of Africa and conquered Spain; that afterwards, according to the commentary of Strabo,* he returned through Thrace, &c. the improbability of such an expedition at that period is too revolting to merit discussion. The mistake originates in a false acceptation of the word *Iberians*. Some Kaldean author, mentioning the conquest of the Jews, called them by their Asiatic name, *Heberim* (Hebræi); and either Megasthenes, or the translator he employed, this little people and ancient name not being known to the writer, understood the *Eberim* or Iberians of Spain, or of Colchis, whose name has the same orthography and perhaps the same etymology.†

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* Strabo, Book xv. page 687: Joseph. contr. Aph. Book I. § 20; Eusebius, Præp. Evang. Lib. 9.

† *Eber* people or country *beyond* the desert or sea. *Hybernia*, Ireland, has the same origin. It is remarkable that the German and English words *uber* and *over* have the same signification.

In favour of this expedition into Lybia, a passage of Sallust has been invoked, which says that,* "according to the Phenician books, found in the possession of king Jempsal, a part of the ancient population of Africa was composed of Persians, Medes, and Armenians, who came by sea with Hercules;" and because the language of the Berberes, descended from the ancient *Mazikés*, contains, in fact, some Persian words, advantage has been taken of it to apply this account to Nebuchadnezzar, whom the Africans might mistake for Hercules.†

But it is not considered, First, That the Medes, Persians, and Armenians, never were subjects of Nebuchadnezzar; Second, That he could not give them their discharge without annihilating his army, and even then at so late an epoch, they would not be sufficiently numerous to found a nation; Third, In fine, that the true reason of this historical fact is clearly indicated in Chapter XXVIII. of Ezekiel, where this writer says to the city of Tyre:

"City of perfect beauty, thou art situate at the entry of the sea, thou hast taken into pay *the Persian*, the *Lydian*, the Egyptian. They hanged the shield and helmet in thee. *Thou tradest far off*

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* Sall. Bell. Jugurth, Chap. xviii.

† See *Catalogo de las Languas*, tratado 3°, Sect. I. Chap. IV. Art. 1°. No. 567, by Hervaz, who, in all his work, make the strangest use of his vast erudition, and of the rich collection of vocabularies he had in his possession.

in the countries (or islands.) All the vessels of the sea are employed to transport for thee."

This passage proves that the Tyrians had the same military system as the Carthaginians, the Venetians, the Genoese; in a word, as all mercantile people, who, to economise the blood of their citizens, take into pay foreign mercenaries. The Tyrians naturally found such stipendiaries in the Armenians, Medes, and Persians, who, born soldiers, must have preferred to the forced enrolments of their kings, a voluntary enrolment with a free people who payed them well. The Phenicians, who, at an early period, had colonies in Africa, at Hippon, at Leptis, at Utica, sent thither garrisons of these Asiatic soldiers, whose accumulation, during six or seven centuries before Nebuchadnezzar, must have thrown there a mass capable of influencing the population and the language: the remains of a disbanded army could not have produced such an effect. The expedition of Hercules, just as improbable as Nebuchadnezzar's, is thereby shewn to be an allegory, in which the *sun*, the divinity of the Phenicians, is personified as a king and conqueror, overrunning and subduing the whole globe; and because the principal stars and constellations, also personified as Heros, were the patrons of various nations; for instance, Perseus, the patron of the Persians; Jason, patron of the Medes; Hak, or Orion, patron of the Armenians; it was natural to say, that these nations

followed their chiefs to the *celestial* army, and to an expedition bounded by the pillars of Hercules and Spain, because there the sun appeared to end his career in the ocean. Read ancient history without calculation and without precaution, you will often find in it nothing but an absurd romance; read it with a critical mistrust, and you will at last discover in it descriptions of natural and probable facts.

But to return to the kings of Babylon.

CHAPTER XVI.

LAST KINGS OF BABYLON UNTIL KYRUS.

The astronomical kanon allows a total reign of forty-three years to Nebuchadnezzar; consequently, he reigned twenty-five years after the capture of Jerusalem, which happened in the eighteenth year of his reign, and he died in the year 562 before our era. Having been married about the year 606, already the commander of an army, he may be supposed to have been then twenty-two or twenty-four, which places his birth about the year 628 or 630, and allows for his life the very natural duration of seventy years. The Chronicle of Kings coincides with the astronomical Kanon, when it says: "In the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, king of

Judah, Evil-Merodach,* king of *Babylon*, in the year that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin out of prison."

Jehoiachin was transported in the same year that Zedekiah was substituted to him, the year 597. Evil-Merodach reigned in the year 561. The interval is just thirty-seven years.†

"According to Berosus, the vicious and wicked disposition of *Evil-Merodak* made him be put to death in the second year of his reign, by Neriglissor, who had married his sister."‡

Neriglissor reigned four years, from 559 to 556 inclusively. He must be the *Labunet* of Herodotus, from whom Kroïsus expected succours in 558 and 557. This word *Labur-et* is no other than the *Nabu* and *Nabun* of the Hebrews and Chaldeans, in which N is changed into L in a manner similar to what takes place in our own lan-

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* Kings, Book II. Chapter the last, ver. 27.

† This same fact is repeated word for word in the last chapter of Jeremiah, whose end is literally the same as that of the last chapter of Kings. But is it natural, is it credible that Jeremiah, who began to act, in the year 626, a political and religious part, requiring at least twenty-five years of age; that Jeremiah, born about the year 651, should still write in 561, at the age of 90? Is it not evident that very ancient transcribers took the liberty to add these verses, and even a part of this chapter? and then, where have we the proof that the two preceding, the 50th and 51st, have not been added, when their contents, full of allusions to the taking of Babylon by Kyrus, are much more irreconcileable with the life of Jeremiah? where are our vouchers for the autography of Jeremiah's manuscripts?

‡ *Berosus* in *Joseph.* contr. Appion. Lib. I. § 20.

guage, amongst the common people, who pronounce *ecolomy* instead of *economy*. It is remarkable that the same alteration is found in the name of *Laboroso*-achod, the son and successor of Neriglissor.

"This prince, while yet young, having shewn perverse dispositions, (says Berosus) his courtiers conspired against and massacred him. After his death, the conspirators unanimously conferred the crown on a Babylonian called *Nabonides*, who had been of the plot. Under *Nabonides*, the walls of the quays along the river were re-constructed with greater magnificence: in the seventeenth year of his reign Kyrus, come from Persia with an immense army, ravaged Babylonia. Nabonides having marched out of Babylon, and given him battle, was totally defeated, and escaped with a few followers to Borsippa. Kyrus, master of Babylon, and seeing the fickle character of its inhabitants (ever ready for some sedition), resolved to throw down the fortifications. He afterwards marched against Borsippa, to besiege Nabonides in it; but because the latter surrendered voluntarily, Kyrus treated him kindly, and assigned for his residence the province of *Kerman*, where Nabonides lived (peaceably) the rest of his days."*

* In a fragment quoted by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. chap. xli.) Megasthenes states the same facts; but the names are much altered.

This account is so circumstantial, and its author has so much weight, that no reasonable opposition can be made to it. Herodotus is not so detailed, but far from contradicting him, he seems to agree with and to confirm Berosus.

" Kyrus, (says he) after crossing the Gyndès, continued his march towards Babylon; the Babylonians having drawn out their troops, awaited his approach; when Kyrus drew near the city, they gave him battle; but, having been defeated, they shut themselves up within their walls."

Herodotus does not here mention their king. But, from what he said in the preceding article, that it was *against him that Kyrus marched*, it follows that he must have commanded according to the custom of the times.

" The Babylonians, who had long known that Kyrus could not remain quiet, and that he equally attacked all nations, had prepared provisions for a great number of years; so that the siege did not at all alarm them."

This corresponds very well with the precaution taken by Nabonides, to raise the walls of the quays. Herodotus afterwards relates how, having already lost much time in useless attacks upon the town, Kyrus was advised, or conceived himself the idea, of turning the river from its channel, precisely by the same means that Nitokris had invented to lay the foundations of the piers of the bridge, and of the quays of the city; how the Per-

sians, having advanced in the bed of the river thus drained, were also fortunate enough to find the small broken doors placed in the walls of the quays open, and thus to surprise the inhabitants, *who accidentally on that day were celebrating a festival*, and were thinking of nothing but dancing and amusement. It is thus, says Herodotus, without saying a word about the fate of the dethroned prince, that Babylon was taken *for the first time;* he tells us elsewhere how it was taken *a second time* by Darius, thirty-two years after.*

We find here nothing that contradicts Berosus or Megasthenes: it is probable that the secret motive of the sally made by Nabonides, was his apprehension of some faction, and of that fickle disposition of the Babylonians, which alarmed Kyrus himself. This suspicion is authorized by his retreat to Borsippa with a small body, and finally by his voluntary surrender.

It is less easy to reconcile our three authors on the subject of his parentage; for whilst Herodotus makes him the son of Nitokris and Nebuchadnezzar, Megasthenes pretends that he was not related to Laborosoachad, who nevertheless, by his mother, must have been that monarch's grandson: Berosus seems to be of the same opinion, when he employs these words: *one Nabonides, a Babylonian*, and

* Herod. Book I. § 191, and Book III. § 150 and following.

yet *Nabonides* signifies son of Nabon: was Berosus ashamed of the prince who survived the loss of his throne and country?

We do not see why Herodotus, a foreign traveller, should be here preferred to Berosus and Megasthenes, both agreed upon this point, both invested with public employments; admitting him to be mistaken, it is of little importance, since that changes nothing in the order of time, which is our principal object.

Kyrus became king of Babylon in 538; he had begun his reign over the Medes and Persians in 560; he took Sardis and dethroned Kresus in 557. How was the interval of eighteen years employed? Herodotus indicates it in a satisfactory manner in Chapters CLIII. CLXXIX. and CLXXX. of his first Book. He says in substance: "that after the conquest of Sardis and the appointment of a governor, Kyrus returned to Ecbatana, projecting new conquests. The Babylonians, the Bactrians, the Sakes or Scythians, and the Egyptians, were so many obstacles to his plans; he resolved to march in person against these nations; he sent Harpages, one of his generals, against the Ionians, whilst he himself in person subdued all the nations of Upper Asia, without excepting one. I shall for the most part pass them over in silence, (adds the historian) mentioning only those that cost him most pains: when he had reduced under his domination the whole continent, he thought of attacking the Assyrians

"On arriving at the river *Gyndes*, one of the white horses consecrated to the sun leaps into the water and is drowned. Kyrus, incensed at this insult offered him by the river, wishes to punish it; he suspends the expedition against Babylon, and spends an entire summer in draining the river into 360 canals, which exhausted it (as many canals as days in the year.) In the second spring he resumes his march against Babylon. The inhabitants sally out to meet him, he defeats them: shut up in their walls, they are under no apprehensions from the siege, because they had collected provisions for several years. Kyrus found himself in a great difficulty; for *he had been long* besieging the place, and he was no farther advanced than the first day."

Let us calculate. Kyrus sets out in spring; he loses the summer: in the second spring he arrives before Babylon; the siege lasts *a long time*, suppose *eighteen months;* he might have taken Babylon the third year after his departure: he took it in 539; consequently, he set out from Persia in 541. He must have taken at least two years to make his preparations (543); the fourteen years from the taking of Sardis were therefore spent in subduing all the nations of Upper-Asia and of the Caspian-sea as far as the Caucasus. But in an age when towns fortified by nature or art sustained sieges of eight and ten years, fourteen years are not too much to subdue countries filled with such towns,

and mountaineers represented at all times as very warlike.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE BOOK ENTITLED XENOPHON'S KYROPEDIA.

THE reign of Kyrus, which is the boundary of the great chronological difficulties, is clearly ascertained in all its dates. If Ktesias differs from Herodotus concerning some circumstances of that prince's life, we can assure he does not contradict him materially. This is not the case with the philosopher Xenophon, whose book entitled *Kyropœdia*, or *Education of Kyrus*, has given rise to such a controversy, that one of the two authors must necessarily have been grossly deceived or resolved beforehand to write a romance. This process between Herodotus and Xenophon has much divided the moderns. Some wished to consider the *Kyropœdia* as the real history of Kyrus, while others saw in this composition only a political romance, suggested for an object and by a motive of the moment. The pleadings that have appeared on this subject, since two centuries, would alone fill ten large volumes: nevertheless, the question is simple, when examined in its true point of view.

We Europ ans, church or cabinet-men, arguing about kings and conquerors, are very poor judges in questions of historical likelihood or probabilities, especially co cerning facts that happened in Asia 2400 years a o. The manners of that country and those governments so differ from our customs, that even in our own times many sensible men speak of the affair of Persia or Turkey in a manner that must a pear ridiculous to the traveller acquainted wi a them. It is not by treating our question abst actedly, by discussing which of the two accounts is most natural (since a man's habits make his natu re), that we can pronounce between Herodotus ar d Xenophon ; it is by instituting a previous enqu iry into their motives and intentions; on these points the multiplied testimonies of ancient authors, who were more or less their immediate contemporaries, enable us to form a judgment.

Diogenes Laertius, who has written the lives of several ancient philosophers, from original memoirs, attests* " that Xenophon and Plato, the disciple of Socrates, actuated by sentiments of jealousy and even of envy of one another, wrote, with the intention of contradicting each other, on the same subjects ; and that, amongst others, Plato having written his *Book of the Republic*, Xenophon op-

* *Diog. Laert., Vita Platonis,* Tom. I. Lib. III. page 185; and the notes of Menage, Vol. II. page 152, N°. 34. *See* also Dacier, Life of Plato, Vol. I. page 107 to 111.

posed him by his *Kyropædia*, or *Education of Kyrus;* to retaliate, Plato, in his *Treatise of Laws*, called that book a *fiction, because Kyrus was no such person.*" Atheneus, in his *Banquet* of Sages*, a work full of learning and curious anecdotes, attests the same facts, and defends the character of Plato, very *different from what it is commonly thought.*

Aulus-Gellius, that respectable father, who for the instruction of his children, extracted from his voluminous readings the notes we possess under the name of *Attic nights;* Aulus-Gellius, at the same time that he endeavours to attenuate what gives him pain, allows, however, that " they who wrote such excellent things concerning the life and manners of Xenophon and Plato, suppose they were not proof against secret sentiments of jealousy and aversion, and shew some plausible reasons for it in their own writings; for instance, their having never spoken of one another, though both, and especially Plato, named all the disciples of their common master. They cite, as another proof of this enmity, that when Xenophon read the two first books of the beautiful treatise on the best republican government which Plato published first, he opposed it by his treatise on monarchical or royal government, entitled *Education of Kyrus*, and they add, that Plato was so offended by it, that,

* Atheneus, Lib. XI.

in his next work, he said Kyrus was in fact an able and courageous man, but that he knew nothing of the science of government."*

In fine Cicero, so well acquainted with the Greek literature, who in his journey to Athens, as well as in his scientific conversations at Rome, must have been initiated into biographical traditions; Cicero writing to his brother Quintus, tells him: "Kyrus is painted by Xenophon, not as historical truth, but as the image of a just government; in this work the philosopher has succeeded in giving to the most serious subjects the most graceful and agreeable forms."†

Thus the opinion of the ancients, founded on facts and traditions from the first source, was that Xenophon's *Kyropædia* is a pure political and moral romance, a sort of censure of the ideal republic of Plato; and let us further add, a tacit panegyric of the royal government, a delicate subject to handle in presence of Athenian democrats. This no doubt is the reason why Xenophon endeavoured to give to his narrative the forms and the probabilities of history, and to place his hero upon a theatre he was acquainted with. This does not prevent him from betraying his secret, when he attributes to the *Persian* Kyrus not only the reli-

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* *Aulus-gell. Noctes Atticæ*, Lib. XIV. chap. iii.

† *Cicero ad Quintum fratrem, epistola* 1ª. *Cyrus ille à Xenophonte, non ad historiæ fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.*

gion of a Greek, but also the language of one of Socrates's disciples, so much so that the moral part of his romance is the pure morality of that philosopher, often in the *very words of his memorables*, compiled by Xenophon, or scattered in Plato, as is very well proved by Abbé Fraquier, in his analysis of the book of Xenophon.* This writer's intention and position being explained and known, it is evident that he should retrench from the history of his hero, every thing that could injure the just and virtuous character he gives him. A first revolting fact was Kyrus's rebellion against his grand-father, and his usurpation of the throne of Media, attested by Herodotus and avowed by Ktesias. To disguise this circumstance, Xenophon adopting the account of Herodotus, gives to Kyrus Mandane for his mother, Astyag for his grandfather, and the Persian Cambyses for his father; but he supposes the latter to be king of *Persia*, though at that period the Persians, tributary to the Medes, had no *king* unless in the sense of *satrap*. Next, in order to avoid for Kyrus the odious action of dethroning *his grandfather*, he supposes that Astyag had a son named *Kyaxarès*, Mandane's brother, who succeeds legitimately to their father: and in fine, supposing also this *Kyaxarès* to have an only daughter, he marries her to Kyrus, who, by all

* *See* his Dissertation, Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, Tom. III. page 58.

these means, comes to the empire in a fair and honourable manner.

In the question we have just laid down, it is remarkable that the most distinguished partisans of Xenophon are men of the ecclesiastical robe; Archbishop Usher, Bishop Bossuet, Dean Prideaux, the Rector Rollin, the Abbé Banier, the devout Marsham.* Why so? because Xenophon's account gives to one of the Jewish canonical books, a support which Herodotus's refuses it, and supposing the pretended uncle of Kyrus (Kyaxarès) to be the *Mede Darius*, whom Daniel brings to the siege and throne of Babylon, they find in the *Kyropædia* a testimony that all history refuses them.

This book of Daniel has thrown chronologers into inextricable difficulties, because they first lay down as a principle what should have been discussed as a question. What is the book called *Daniel?* If the reader will take the trouble to read a short analysis of it, he will be enabled to judge for himself.

* Petau is an exception; Freret hesitated.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE BOOK ENTITLED DANIEL.

"In the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar to besiege Jerusalem, and the Lord gave Jehoiakim into his hand, with part of the sacred vessels, which Nebuchadnezzar carried into the land of Shinar, and placed in the temple of his god."*

This date of the third year answers to 605. We have seen, by three passages of Jeremiah, that Nebuchadnezzar was not king until the ensuing year, 604, the fourth of Jehoiakim: the battle of Karkemis was not fought until this fourth year, and till then Necho was master of Syria and Judea. If Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem and king Jehoiakim, it could have been only in 604, and in consequence of that victory; therefore, the date of the third year is impossible. And how can it be imagined that Nebuchadnezzar should besiege Jerusalem, take the king, carry off the vessels, and that Jeremiah, who was then openly in opposition with the king, should say not a word of these events? The Book of Kings does not mention them, and the account of these two authorities is such, that this anacronism cannot be made to agree with it;

* Daniel, chap. i.

finally, the historian Josephus, who had before his eyes all the details of Berosus's account, indicates nothing of the kind. The source of this error originates in Paralipomena, chap. xxxvi. as we have before observed, page 140, concerning a passage of Polyhistor; and this conformity becomes an evidence of the tardy and posthumous composition of the book entitled Daniel. Now, what will become of the rules of criticism in history, if the authorities we have quoted are not preferable to an Apocryphal book, without date and without the name of the author? for never did an author say, when speaking of himself: "*But Daniel lived unto the first year of Kyrus.*"*

Daniel is supposed to have been carried off young in the third year, and conducted into the land of *Shinar*, an expression to denote Babylon of which there is no example; that he is there educated in the science of the Kaldeans, which, it is well known, principally consisted in *astrology and divinations forbidden by Moses.*

Chap. II. In the second year of his reign (603), Nebuchadnezzar has a dream which alarms him; he sends for the *seers* or *prophets* (shoufim), the diviners and the *discoverers* (makshafim); they cannot satisfy him:† Daniel is called, and he explains

* Daniel, chap. i. ver. last.

† The dream of Astyag, in Herodotus, contains similar circumstances.

the famous dream of the golden image with feet of clay, and of the four great empires (the *Babylonian* with golden blazonry, the *Persian* with silver blazonry, the *Macedonian* with brass blazonry, and the *Roman* with iron blazonry).

How is this allegory entirely in the Greek style found in a Jewish author? the great monarch Nebuchadnezzar prostrates himself before his page the jew Daniel, and yet soon after, incensed against his three Jewish friends, who refuse to adore the god *Bel*, he orders them to be cast into a fiery furnace, where they walk about singing, and out of which they come safe and sound.

In the fourth chapter we have the history of the great tree hewn down, and of Nebuchadnezzar transformed into a beast.—Chap. V. Then without any transition comes Belshazzar, son of Nebuchadnezzar, who gives a great feast that is troubled by the apparition of three words upon the wall; Daniel explains them. The kingdom of *Belshazzar* is given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. *On the following night Belshazzar is slain, and Darius reigns in Babylon.*

Chap. VI. King Darius appoints 120 *governors* or satraps to govern the 120 provinces of his empire, and three superior viziers, of whom Daniel was one. Darius established a decree according to the *law of the Medes and Persians*, and in consequence of this decree, Daniel was cast into the den of lions, which did not hurt him; and *he continued*

to live in the reign of *Darius and Kyrus the Persian.*

The seventh and eighth chapters also contain visions of Daniel, one in the first, the other in the third, year of *Belshazzar*, though this king died in the fifth chapter.

Chap. IX. In the first year of Darius, Daniel understood by books that the number of seventy years foretold by Jeremiah was near being accomplished. "Seventy sabbaths" (or weeks of years), says he to God, "are determined upon thy people."

Chap. X. In the third year of Kyrus Daniel had another dream. Finally, chap. xi. "In the first year of Darius, I aided him continually to govern, and I will shew thee the truth: there shall stand up in Persia three kings.* The fourth shall have great treasures, and shall make war on the Greeks (Xercés); then a mighty king shall stand up that shall do according to his will. His empire shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven, and shall not be transmitted to his posterity (Alexander). Then a king of the south (Ptolomy), and one of his princes (Seleucus), shall be strong above him. Afterwards, the wars of Syria and the desolation of the temple under (Antiochus Epiphanes), (in the year 170 before Jesus Christ)."

Such is the summary plan of the book called

* Reckoning from Kyrus (Smerdis is omitted).

Daniel: if in our days such a book was discovered among the Sanscrit manuscripts of India; if the Brahmins presented us such a *shastra*, as having being really written in the time of the kings of Babylon, we would not fail to oppose them by the critical axioms they themselves laid down; we should tell them, with the learned Englishmen Maurice and Bentley,* that " a book may be suspected to be altered or even suppositious, when it contains facts posterior to the epoch of its author; and as to the prophetical style employed by the compilers, we insist on the remark of Mr. Bentley, concerning the *souria sidhanta*, to wit: that it is avowed by the uprightest and honestest Brahmins, that *frequently and for a long time* there were composed in Asia apocryphal books, in which a prophetical form was given *to the narration to inspire the numerous readers with greater respect and belief.*"

Now, why should not what is just for the Hindoos be so also for the Jews? Why, in the cause of others, should we employ other weights and measures than in our own? Our theologians, having at their head Saint Jerom,† declaim against the platonician *Porphyry*, " *because he wrote a book to prove that the prophecies of Daniel were not written by a man of that name, but by an anony-*

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII. Mem. N°. 6.

† *Hyeronym. Comment. in Daniel,* Vol. III. p. 1071.

mous Jew, contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes, and that they were not so much* to be considered as predictions of what was to happen, as a narrative of what had already taken place." But our theologians did not take notice that Porphyry argued on the same principles as our learned biblists and missionaries in China and India. But, if the Jewish book called *Daniel* be tried upon the same principles by which we judge the *shastras* and *pouranas*, there is no righteous *jury* that will not admit the following propositions:—

First, That no known date can be assigned to the composition of the book of Daniel;

Second, That it is unreasonable and improbable that an author should say of himself, *that he lived till such a time*, and that, besides, there is a contradiction between *his living unto the first year of Kyrus* (chap. i. verse the last), and *his having a vision in the third year of that same prince* (chap. x.);

Third, That the truly prophetic character can be only ascertained by the authentic priority of the oracle;

Fourth, That the *chronology* of the said work, in the part of the kings of Babylon, cannot be reconciled with that of authentic historians;

Fifth, That the mythological part is evidently taken from the Persian and Zoroastrian mythology;

* One hundred and seventy years before our era.

Sixth, And that the style employed by the anonymous author, offers several Persian and even Greek words, contrary to the genius of the Hebrew idiom, and not to be found in any other work written in that language ;*

Seventh, That, according to the remark of Saint Jerome (p. 2074, Vol. III.) *the prophecies of this book are so enigmatical, so obscure, that to understand them it is necessary to have read a number of Greek historians of a very late date, among others Polybius and Possidonius ;* whence results, on the one hand, that being unintelligible, when read alone, they deserve no credit; and, on the other hand, that, when compared with history, they contain concerning it such details that the author must be supposed to have known them, and to have dressed them up in his own way.

From all these motives, it is evident that the Book of Daniel is an Apocryphal work, of a date posterior, by several years, to Antiochus-Epiphanès; it is even certain, that it was composed at different times, and by several hands, the last of which must have been after the entrance of the Romans into Syria.

These facts being admitted, we discover, for several of *Daniel's* chronological problems, an easy solution, which they can receive in no other hypo-

* Among others, the word *Symphonié*. *See*, on this subject, Michaelis's Dissertation on the Style of the Book of Daniel.

thesis. At the late period when the principal author lived, he may be supposed, like the authors of *Judith*, *Esther*, *Toby*, *Bel* and the *Dragon*, and other Apocryphal writers, to have been ill-informed concerning certain portions of history comprised in his plan, and which had been only written in the Greek language, at the time little known in Judea.* For instance, when all that he says of *Belshazzar*, of *Darius the Mede*, and of *Kyrus*, is analysed, we shall be convinced that he confounded and took, for one and the same event, the two sieges and the two conquests of Babylon, mentioned by Herodotus at two different dates; one in the year 539, under Kyrus, the other in 507, or 506, under Darius, son of Hystaspès: so that, having no clear idea of the second siege, he attributed the first to *Darius*, whom he took for a *Median king*, deceived probably in this respect by Xenophon's account.

The confrontation of Herodotus justifies our opinion. According to this historian, *a first siege of Babylon* took place under Kyrus. "That great city was then taken, for the first time, by the united armies of *the Persians and Medes*. The king of Babylon, at that epoch, was the son of

* It is remarkable, that all the Apocryphal Jewish authors are later than the age of Alexander, and owed their origin to the imperfect knowledge the Jews acquired of the Greek literature, at an epoch when its purity was corrupted by unsuccessful wars.

Nitocris, and was called *Labynet*, like his father (Nebuchadnezzar). On that day the Babylonians were celebrating a festival, and were occupied only in pleasure and dancing."*

Is not this the text of Daniel? Belshazzar is son to Nebuchadnezzar *(Labynet)*. This king *celebrates a great festival;* they are only occupied in *feasts* and *pleasure*. *The city is taken by the Medes and Persians.* Here is exactly Kyrus's siege; but, according to *Daniel*, (chap. v. ver. last,) it was *Darius the Median* who reigned, being sixty-two years old. Let us hear Herodotus: "In the fifteenth year of Darius, son of Hystaspès, the city of Babylon revolted against that prince; it then sustained a second siege, which lasted twenty months; at length, by means of a stratagem, *it was taken a second time*, by the army of the Persians and Medes united; and Darius reigned (anew) in Babylon.† It was even this prince, as Herodotus tells us elsewhere, who first divided into twenty great governments, or satrapies, the mass of the Persian empire, until then in confusion."

We say that, deceived by this second siege, the author of Daniel has placed in the first siege a Median Darius, who is no other than the son of Hystaspès: the proof of it is in all the characters he gives to that king.

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* Book I. end of § 191, and § 187.

† Herod. Lib. III. *in fine.*

First, He makes him divide the Persian empire into satrapies, like Herodotus; the number is not the same; instead of *twenty*, it is an hundred and twenty; but this may be owing to another mistake: Josephus informs us, that *Xerxes being dead*, his throne was transferred to his son *Kyrus*, called the *Artaxercès* by the Greeks, which Kyrus divided the empire into 120 satrapies.* Has not the anonymous writer confounded this Kyrus with the first?

Second. He says that Darius was the son of *Ahshouroush*, and of the *Median race*; but Ahshouroush is no other than *Cambyses*, as results from the fourth chapter of Ezra. Not knowing Smerdis, the anonymous author thought that Darius, as successor of Cambyses, was his son. For which reason he reckons only three kings to Xerxes. He, therefore, made him of the Median race, since Kyrus, father of Cambyses, was grandson to Astyag.

Third. He constantly unites the idea and the name of Darius with the name and idea of Kyrus. Daniel, says he, *lived until the first year of Kyrus, and he continued to live until the time of Darius and of Kyrus.*

Fourth. In the first year of Darius, he reads in the books (of Jeremiah) and finds that the *seventy years* captivity or desolation are *near being accomplished.* This circumstance is decisive; for

* Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. IX. chap. VI.

if from the year 587, when the captivity under Nebuchadnezzar commenced, you descend to the year 520, the second year of Darius (in which year that prince gave a decree for re-building the temple) you have *sixty-eight complete years, very near the term of seventy;* finally, it is remarkable, that one of the most ancient christian chronologers, *Maximus the martyr*, giving a list of the kings of Babylon, after Kyrus and Cambyses, names *Darius*, with the epithet *Median*, which poves the then supposed identity of the son of Hystaspès, and of the pretended Darius of Daniel.* Now if, as we presume, the mistake is undeniable, all the book of Daniel is judged. It is no longer necessary to enquire at what date commence either the *seven weeks* he reckons from *the order to re-build to the anointed of the Lord*, or the sixty-two weeks *he reckons from thence to the extermination* of another anointed.† Only it should be remarked, that the conversion of the days of these weeks into years is totally arbitrary; that the two sums ought not to be united, as *Africanus* wished to do, who, by another error, reckons sixty instead of sixty-nine, and this, in order to obtain a sum of 490 years, *commencing, as he says, at the twentieth of Artaxercès.* But if, as is the fact, the twentieth year of Artaxercès corresponds to the year 445,

* *See* Petau, Uranolog. page 312 and 313.

† *Sancti Hyeronym. Comment in Daniel,* tom. iii. page 1110.

the pretended prophecy is not applicable to the case stated. However, it is sufficient to read *the adventure of the three young men in the furnace, that of Daniel in the lions' den; and the transformation of the king of Babylon into a four-footed beast, browzing and grazing*, to see that the entire book should be joined with that of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, and to approve the judgment pronounced by the theologians themselves against this fabulous production.*

With respect to the king of Babylon, the historian Megasthenes † relates, on the authority of the Chaldeans, that Nebuchadnezzar had a disease, which appears to have been either *madness* or *epilepsy*, both looked on as a *divine evil*, and that, in a fit of this distemper, he pronounced a prophecy concerning the taking of Babylon by Kyrus. This circumstance proves that prophecying was in fashion at the time, and a general passion among the people. When a great catastrophe happened, it was always found to have been predicted in some old book, and with the greater facility, as it only cost

* This book, like that of Susanna, has been classed among the Apocryphal works in Saint Jerome's time. As to Daniel, we shall add the remark, that between the style and images of many of his chapters and those of the Apocalypse, there is an analogy, indicating, First, An approximation in the time of their composition. Second, An identity in the religious and mythological source, which, for these two books, is the Persian and Mythrial theology.

† Euseb. Prepar. Evang. Lib. IX.

the insertion of a leaf of papyrus, or of palm-tree, or even of a single verse, in manuscripts bound after the Indian manner: the conqueror was flattered and appeased by it, while the conquered was consoled by the persuasion that the event was owing to the immutable decrees of fatality.

CHAPTER XIX.

RECAPITULATION.

Now, if we resume this long article of the Babylonians, we shall obtain as principal results:

First. That Babylon had known hereditary and independent kings only during eighty years, or at most a century, that is, from Nabopol-asar inclusively, to the conquest of the Persians, under Kyrus.

Second. That, before Nabopol-asar, ascending to Belesis-Merodak, its kings might have enjoyed, for some time, the independence granted to all the subjects of Nineveh overturned; but that, afterwards, they recognized the superiority of the Medes until the reign of Nabopol-asar.

Third. That, before Belesis, its kings were really only pachas or satraps of the *great king*, or *sultan* of Nineveh, master of all Upper-Asia since Ninus and Semiramis.

Fourth. That Semiramis was really the foundress

of the *great* Babylon, by having created the works of fortification and salubrity to which that city owed its splendour.

Fifth. That, before Semiramis, there existed in the same spot *a temple of Bel*, of a pyramidal form, mentioned in the Chaldeo-Jewish traditions by the name of *tower of Babylon* or *Babel*, and in Greek historians by the several denominations of *palace*, *tomb*, *citadel* and *tower of Bel.*

Sixth. That this tower or pyramid was essentially an *astronomical observatory*, the ancient and mysterious seat of the sciences of those *Chaldean* priests whose origin is placed by the Greeks in unknown times; which agrees very well with the date of 3195 years before Jesus Christ, assigned by the Phenecian and Jewish calculations to the foundation of this *tower.*

Seventh. That an establishment of the kind proves the existence of a civilized people, such as is indicated in Ktesias, at the time when Ninus subdued Babylonia.

Eighth. That this people was of *Arabian* origin and blood, especially of the Ethiopian or *Kushite* branch, which gives it a particular affinity with the *Phenecian* nations.

Ninth. That this affinity is confirmed by the *language* and alphabetical *system* called *Chaldaic,* the use of which prevailed among the Chaldeans to a very remote epoch.

Tenth. That if now the bricks of the walls of

Babylon offer writings of a different system, it is because Semiramis, who built these walls, employed of course the writing of the victorious nation she commanded, that is to say, the *Assyrian characters*, which Darius had engraved on the monument of his war against the Scythians; and, if Darius employed these *Assyrian characters*, it is because these of the Persians, his subjects, were of the same system, and no doubt had been borrowed from them during the five hundred years that the *Persians* were governed by the Assyrians of Semiramis. We might carry our inductions much farther concerning these antiquities; but we shall have an opportunity of resuming them in the article of the Egyptians, which still remains to be treated.

END OF THE BABYLONIANS.

CHRONOLOGY

OF

THE EGYPTIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE chronology of ancient Egypt is precisely in the same degree of obscurity where John Marsham found and left it in 1672,* with this difference, that then the passages of ancient authors, upon this subject, were disseminated in a number of books and manuscripts, and that Marsham having collected together the greater part, has rendered their discussion more easy. If the learned societies, that propose annual prizes, systematised this method, and ordained first the table of all the fragments relative to the subject proposed, they would have much advanced the progress of the science. It should have been expected that the magnificent collection of *Egyptian monuments* re-

* *See* his book, entitled *Canon Egyptiacus*, one of the most learned, but at the same time worst fabricated, of the *modern school:* in it all is repetition of principles, judgment without discussion, decision without proof, approximation without analogy, and digression without motive.

cently published by the commission of French *Sçavans*, would have given us new information; but this collection appears to have only added new problems. We are reduced almost to the same means of instruction as our predecessors; and yet we have derived from them absolutely different results: Why so? Because we have operated by an impartial method, totally different, as the reader shall see in the following chapters.

The documents transmitted us by ancient authors are confined to extracts from original books, now lost, to fragments altered in their passage through several hands; in a word, to vague, and sometimes even contradictory, ideas; we must not, therefore, be surprised that partial interpreters, each in his own sense, could not agree upon hypotheses having no foundation: nor should we be surprised if we ourselves to-day, though supported by all the textual authorities existing, should not arrive at a degree of evidence and certainty the means of which are denied us. In such matters we can only pretend to the most rational probabilities. Let us begin by laying down our means of information: they consist, first, in a summary table inserted by Herodotus, in his second book, and which he gives us as the recapitulation of all that the priests of Thebes, of Memphis, and of Heliopolis answered to his questions; as the substance of their historical doctrine at the time when the author lived. To appreciate rightly the merit of this piece, it is ne-

cessary to observe that Herodotus visited Egypt sixty-five years only (about the year 460 before our era) after the Persians had reduced that country under their dominion. The invasion and mixture of these strangers began to introduce many alterations in the laws, manners, and national doctrines; but, because, after the short tyranny of Kambyses, the mild administration of Darius Hystaspès and his successors allowed the Egyptian people to recover its character, it is to be presumed that the native system was neither forgotten nor altered: it must, on the contrary, have been regenerated, when, seventy-seven years after the residence of Herodotus, (in the year 413 before Jesus Christ) the Egyptian people, tired of the exactions of the Persians, shook off the yoke of the *great king* (Darius Nothus) and re-organised itself as an independent people under the government of *Amyrteus*.*

* It is very extraordinary that the name of this new king should be mentioned by Herodotus, in his second book, § 140. It is not, however, impossible for this historian, seventy-one years of age at the time, to have known him; but, besides that, the passage in question appears to have been an annexed note; it contains a chronological error, incompatible with the author's ideas, because it supposes an interval of 700 years between the reign of *Amyrteus* and that of Anysis, preceded by the Ethiopian Sabako. Now we shall see, that, in Herodotus's plan, Sabako could not have preceded the year 750, or at most 780 before our era, and from thence to the reign of *Amyrteus* (in 413) are only three centuries and a half; so that the learned critics consider this passage, which at first was not in the manuscripts at paragraph 140, as interpolated. Larcher has taken upon him to alter also this text, and to substitute of himself the number 500 to that of 700, found in the manuscripts.

The Egyptians then found themselves, in a political and moral situation, similar to that of the Jewish people, when, under the conduct of the Maccabees, it broke the Grecian yoke, and resumed its national character with an enthusiasm equal to its detestation of the strangers.

In Egypt, as well as in Judea, the insurgents must have had to resist, in every respect, the pretensions of their masters, and there must have existed a diplomatic and literary warfare, which has not been sufficiently attended to. We shall soon see the importance of this remark.

After an independence of sixty-three years, the Egyptians fell again under the yoke of the Persians, who strove to efface every thing contrary to their authority, and even to their opinions. The Greeks of Alexander, successors of the Persians, altered yet more the Egyptian character, because, by the gentleness of their administration, they overcame the national antipathy, and at length gained over the people to adopt their manners and even their language.

This epoch furnishes us with the second of our historical documents, consisting in the book which the Egyptian priest, Manetho, composed about the year 270 before Jesus Christ, near two centuries after Herodotus. It was then that Ptolomy Philadelphus provoked the translation of Jewish, Chaldean, and all Oriental books; Manetho, encouraged by his sovereign, appointed by him guardian of all

the sacerdotal archives, published, in the Greek language, a compilation of three volumes, which he gives us as the substance of the ancient chronicles; unluckily this compilation is lost, and there remains only a skeleton of lists, which, altered by the priest *Julius-Africanus*, by the bishop Eusebius Pamphilus, and by the monk George Syncellus, represent but very imperfectly the original. They are, however, sufficient to render evident the extraordinary difference that exists between Herodotus and Manetho on several points, but particularly on the epoch of *Sesostris*. Manetho, taking advantage of his quality of native, pretended that the Greek author was mistaken or fallacious in many instances. But as Herodotus protests that he is only the faithful echo of the priests, whose accounts sometimes revolt his sound reason, we have no right to accuse him: there is every reason to suppose, that this is rather a national quarrel, between different *colleges* of priests, who, in an interval of 100 or 150 years, and from the contact with strangers, found, or thought they found, motives to be of a different opinion from their ancestors. There is here this remarkable circumstance, that in the Egyptian, as well as in the Assyrian, chronology the opinion of the new date, presented by Ktesias and Manetho, maintains the system in *more*, whereas the ancient opinion, presented by Herodotus, maintains the system in *less*, and that the first makes Sesostris, as well as Ninus, six cen-

turies more remote, whilst the second approaches them in the same proportion. The epoch of this king is the true knot of the difficulty, as shall be hereafter seen.

A third document is furnished us by Syncellus, who, arguing against Manetho, opposes to him *an ancient Chronicle*, of which he gives a recapitulation, beginning at the sixteenth dynasty. It has been asked, whence came this *ancient Chronicle*, and what was its authority? &c. &c. Some have thought, because it comes down to the last national king, eighteen years before Alexander, that it could not have been composed before that epoch; but, if it be considered, that in such a case it would not have merited the name of *ancient*, which Manetho seems to have given it, and that he would have depreciated it as *new*, in as much as it differs from his system, our opinion will not appear improbable, that it was originally composed during the reigns of Darius and Artaxercès, who allowed the learned men of Egypt to collect the remnants of their monuments, pillaged and dispersed by the tyrant Kambyses, (and, observe, that this desire of collecting and uniting is the first sentiment after every convulsion, every shipwreck.) This first sketch having been struck off, it received, like most other chronicles, (for instance, that called *Ptolomy's Kanon,)* successive additions from the hand of every man of learning who got a manuscript of it; and, as the original might already have 200 years in

Manetho's time, that author could class it among the ancient documents. We shall examine its merit in its place.

Very soon after Manetho, the learned Eratosthenes, librarian of Alexandria, discovered and published a list of the Theban kings, unknown to or omitted by the Egyptian priest, whose work was confined to Lower-Egypt. This list, quoted by Syncellus, forms our fifth document, which is unimportant, because it merely gives a barren nomenclature of unknown princes, and instead of eighty-nine mentioned by Apollodorus, who copied Eratosthenes, Syncellus has preserved only thirty; nevertheless, this monument pronounces in favor of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus.

This latter writer supplies us with a sixth document, whose peculiar merit is to serve in classing the materials furnished by the others. It is well known, that Diodorus, who came a century and a half after Manetho, was ambitious of collecting, into one historical body, all that was scattered in different authors; and he must have found in Alexandria and Egypt, which he visited, materials which his predecessors were deprived of.

To these six principal documents, add some passages taken from ancient authors, such as Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Josephus, the Jewish books, &c. and an anecdotic fragment produced by Eusebius, as an extract from a Persian historian; such are the poor and mutilated materials we can

dispose of to rebuild the vast and complicated edifice of the Egyptian chronology. We do not speak of the monuments with which the French expedition of Egypt enriches us at this moment; because this magnificent collection, from which we must not separate Denon's precious work, while it offers us the gigantic ruins of the palaces and temples of Upper-Egypt, gives us rather problems to resolve than instructions.

CHAPTER II.

EXPOSITION OF HERODOTUS.

HERODOTUS informs us, that when he came to Egypt to collect materials for his history, he found, in the cities of Heliopolis, of Memphis, and of Thebes, colleges of priests with whom he had scientific conferences, the result of which is contained in his second book. How were these conferences held? was it in the Persian language? it does not appear that Herodotus understood it, still less the Egyptian tongue; it is more probable that Egypt, open to the Greeks since the time of Psametichus, was full of merchants of that nation, who knew the language of the country; some of these officious men must have served as interpreter to the author, who was his guest. This communication, through

an interpreter, is less exact than a direct one. As to the exposition, the method followed by the author is excellent: he first treats of the soil of the climate and of all the physical state of Egypt; and the picture he gives of it is such, that our most learned travellers have found as little to add as to criticise in it: he speaks next of the customs, laws, and religious ceremonies; at last, he comes to the historical and chronological part; let us quote his own words:—

§ XCIX. "Hitherto I have related what I saw and knew by myself, or what I learned by my own researches; now I am going to speak of this country, *according to what I was told by the Egyptians themselves;* I shall add to my account something of what I myself saw."

It is clear that Herodotus, having seen nothing of the ancient historical part, all that he says of it is the account given him by the priests.

"According to these priests, the first king of Egypt was *Menès;* he constructed the dykes of Memphis. Until then the Nile flowed entirely along the Libic Mount: Menès having filled up the arm which the river formed on the south, and erected a dyke about 100 *stades* above Memphis, drained the old channel, made the Nile to flow through the new one, and built the present town of Memphis upon the very ground from which he turned the river, and converted into firm land. He also dug a great lake on the north and west of

the city (to defend it,) and erected a large magnificent temple to the God *Phtha*, (the principal divinity of the Egyptians.)

§ C. " The priests read to me, in their annals, the names of 330 other kings who reigned after *Menès:* in so long a series of generations are found eighteen Ethiopians and an Egyptian woman: all the others were *Egyptians, men and not gods.*"

§ CI. " The priests told me also, that, of all those kings, not one had rendered himself celebrated for some great work or brilliant exploit, except Moïris, the last of those (of the 330.) But (says Herodotus in § XIII.) at the time that the priests told me so, *Moïris* had not been dead quite 900 years."

(We know that Herodotus visited Egypt in the year 460, before Jesus Christ; consequently, the priests placed Moïris's death about the years 1350 or 1355.)

" I shall pass over in silence these obscure princes, (continues our author,) and shall confine myself to speaking of *Sesostris*, who came after *them.*"

(This last word seems to say, that Sesostris was not the immediate successor of Moïris; and, in fact, we shall see other authors reckon several reigns between these two princes.

§ CII. " According to the priests, Sesostris was the first, who, setting out from the Arabian gulf

(the Red Sea) in *long* vessels,* subdued the borderers of the Erythrean sea. He advanced until he was forced back by a sea full of shallows. On his return to Egypt, he raised an immense army, and marching by the continent (the Isthmus of Suez,) he subdued all the people on his way, and even crossed over from Asia into Europe, where he attacked and conquered the Skytes and Thracians; I believe he went no further. On his way back, he stopt on the banks of the Phasis; but I do not see clearly, if it was Sesostris who voluntarily left a part of his soldiers to form a colony there, or if the soldiers, fatigued and tired of his expeditions, settled there (in spite of him.) However that may be, the inhabitants of the Phasis (the colchi) are Egyptians, for their skin is black, and their hair woolly; they practise circumcision, and speak the same language, &c. On his return to Egypt, Sesostris, say the priests, was near perishing at Daphnês (Taphnahs,) by the treachery of his brother, who set fire to the tent where he slept (after a great feast.) After having escaped this danger, he employed the numerous prisoners he brought with him, to execute various great works, and among others, to erect the causeways and dig the canals with which the country is now

* Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny, &c. inform us, that for want of timber, the natives had no other vessels than canoes, either of palm-tree or of woven reeds, covered with tar-skins.

intersected. Before that prince, Egypt was convenient for chariots and for cavalry; but since his time it is impossible to make use of them: he is the only Egyptian king who reigned over Ethiopia (modern Abyssinia.") Such is, in substance, the account of the priests, Herodotus's authors. But, because more details concerning *Sesostris* will be useful to our subject, we shall add others, extracted from various authors.

According to Pliny,* the bounds of Sesostris's expedition into Africa was the port *Mossylicus, whence comes the cinnamon.* (This place, situate on the west of Cape *Guar da fui*, is about five hundred and fifty leagues distant from Memphis.)

Strabo† adds, that long after, that prince's road was still marked by inscribed columns, and by temples and other monuments. He observes, that the ancient kings of Egypt were very indifferent about geographical researches before *Sesostris*; and this would lead us to suppose, that on this occasion Sesostris had the same ideas of curiosity that we have found, at a like epoch, among the Homerite kings of Jemen.

Diodorus Siculus,‡ who cites the opinion of the priests of his time, and that of several ancient au-

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* Hist. Natur. Lib. VI. page 343, Hardouin.

† Strabo, Lib. XVII. page 790, Casaubon.

‡ Diod. Sicul. Lib. I.

thors, does not call this prince Sesostris, but Sesoosis, analogous to the Sethosis and *Sethos* of Manetho and the lists.* This narrator says, that Sesostris's inclinations were, from his cradle, moulded and directed by the king his father *(Amenoph,)* who gave him an entirely military education, with the remarkable circumstance, of having brought up with him all the male children born the same day, who became his companions for life. Sesostris and his little troop, to the number of seventeen hundred, were educated in the most painful exercises of war; their first expeditions were in Arabia and Lybia against the Lions and the Arabs. The young prince was in the prime of youth. Diodorus immediately adds the death of *Amenoph*, the accession of Sesostris, and the resolution of the latter to conquer the whole earth; but he errs against probability, when he says, that according to some authors, his daughter, named *Athirtè*, encouraged him to this enterprize, and supplied him with the means: this story must be posthumous, as well as the vision of Amenoph, in which the god *Phtha* promised him the empire of the world for his son. Sesostris, in the prime of life, could not be more than twenty-two or twenty-four when he began to reign. His conquests lasted nine years:† he was making his preparations during

* The sound of the greek *th* is hissing like the *s*.

† Diodorus seems to confine this duration to that of Europe only. That of Ethiopia could not last three years.

one or two years: suppose him to have been thirty-five or thirty-six on his return to Egypt, his children, at that epoch, are represented as still young. He reigned in all thirty-three years; he must, therefore, have lived about sixty, or at most from sixty-four to sixty-five years. Becoming blind, life was odious to him, and through pride, no longer able to support it, he killed himself. This circumstance also supposes the force of age, and agrees well with our hypothesis.

According to Diodorus, " Sesostris had an army of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, 27,000 war-chariots: his fleet, composed of 400 sail, subdued the islands and coasts of the Erythrean sea as far as India; while the king, conducting the land-army, conquered all Asia. He carried his conquests farther than Alexander himself, for, having crossed the Ganges, and penetrated as far as the Eastern ocean, he returned by the north to subdue the Scythians as far as the Tanaïs (the *Don:")* against this, we have to observe, that the learned and judicious Strabo* denies, on the authority of *Megasthenes*, Greek ambassador in India, that either *Sesostris*, or *Semiramis*, or *Kyrus*, ever penetrated into that country (as far as the Ganges.) It here appears that the Egyptian priests, cited by Diodorus, have, through national emulation, endeavoured to make their hero do more than the hero of the

* Strabo, Lib. XIV. page 686.

Greeks (Alexander,) and that they borrowed from the latter the idea of a geographical circuit, impossible in itself, and unknown to their predecessors: we, therefore, are of opinion, with the latter and with Herodotus, their interpreter, that Sesostris passed by the isthmus of Suez; and Strabo says nothing to the contrary, when he relates, "that this prince *crossed over from the country of the Trogiodytes into Arabia*, and afterwards from *Arabia into Asia*, since the country of the Troglodytes extends along the Red Sea to opposite Memphis, and that Arabia commences at the isthmus, immediately where Egypt ends.

No mention is made of the Jews, nor of the Phenicians, who may have been on the left; nor of the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, which, in the chronological system of Ktesias, ought to have existed and provoked the pride of the conqueror,* who is said to have subdued the country, and left in Persia a colony of 15,000 Scythians. These cities, in our system, did not exist until more than 150 years after Sesostris. Did this conqueror enter Scythia by the Caucasus, or by the Bosphorus of Thrace? This is not clear. His return by Colchis is not doubtful; but it seems to us, contrary to the opinion of the priests, that *Sesostris* returned after a defeat: for Pliny† read in ancient

* *Cedreni Hist. compendium*, page 20.

† Lib. XXXIII.

authors, that he was conquered by *Rsubopus*, king of Colchis, celebrated for the immense quantity of gold and silver that he possessed: and Valerius Flaccus had the same documents when he says:*

" That Sesostris was the first who made war on the Getæ, and that, affrighted at the defeat of his army, he brought back a part of it to Thebes and the banks of his native river, whilst he settled the rest upon the banks of the Phasis, imposing on them the name of Colchos."

Agreeing with Herodotus and Manetho (in Josephus), concerning the danger to which Sesostris was exposed from his brother, whom he left viceroy, Diodorus remarks, " that the conqueror, on his return, made the most pompous entry, followed by an innumerable crowd of captives and an immensity of booty and rich spoils; he adorned with them all the temples of Egypt; he also brought back many useful inventions. Abandoning all idea of war, he dismissed his troops, rewarded the soldiers, and distributed lands amongst them; but his love of glory allowing him no repose, he undertook a number of magnificent works, made to immortalize his name, at the same time that they contributed to the safety and conveniency of Egypt.

* Argonauticon, Lib. V.

" *Ut prima Sesostris*
Intulerit rex bella Getis, ut clade suorum
Territus hos Thebas patriumque reducet ad amnem
Phasidis hos imponat agris Colchosque vocari
Jubeat."

First. He built in each city, a temple in honour of the patronal divinity: in several places he erected causeways and mounds, to serve for a refuge in inundations; in others, he dug canals and trenches; one, among others, to communicate from Memphis with the Red Sea."

(As to this one, we observe that Strabo* denies positively its complete execution; agreeing with Aristotle (and Pliny), as to his having had the first idea of it, and making the first attempt, he assures us that he desisted from it, because he discovered that the level of the Red Sea *was higher* than the Mediterranean, *(which is true.)*

Diodorus continues, and says, "that to stop the plundering incursions of the Arabs, Sesostris constructed a wall 1500 stades long, which shut up the Isthmus from Pelusium to Heliopolis. Having constructed a ship of cedar-wood, 280 cubits long, lined on the inside with silver and on the outside with gold, he made an offering of it to the god whom they adore at Thebes. He erected† two obelisks of a very hard stone (granite), 120 cubits in height, on which he engraved the numerical situation of his troops, of his revenues, of the nations he had subdued, of the tributes exacted from them.

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* Strabo, Lib. I. page 68. Aristotle, Meteorol. Lib. I. Cap. 14, page 548. Pliny, Lib. VI. Cap. 29.

† The sense being here uninterrupted, we are to conclude that it was in the same city he raised those obelisks, the same that Germanicus found there, as we shall see.

At Memphis he placed in the temple of Vulcan, his own and his wife's statue, both thirty cubits in height, of a single block. The most painful works were performed by the prisoners he brought with him, and he took care to fix inscriptions on them, stating that *no Egyptian had touched them.**

" One of the most remarkable circumstances of Sesostris's actions, was his conduct towards the kings whom he subdued. This conqueror left them their titles and the administration of their dominions; but every year, at an appointed time, they were obliged to bring him *presents*, that is to say, *tributes* he had imposed on them, in proportion to the riches of their subjects: he received these kings with great honours; but when he went to the temple, he ordered the four horses abreast to be unyoked from his chariot, and the kings taking their place, drew the proud conqueror, who wished to have it thought that his valour had put him out of all comparison with other men. (Hence the pompous title inscribed on his monuments: *Sesostris*, king of kings, and lord of lords.")

These curious details would furnish matter for a

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* The journals of those days must have greatly exalted this instance of humanity: we, who calculate that the prisoners of Sesostris were purchased with the blood and treasures of Egypt, are of opinion that these works cost the nation twenty times more than if they had been executed with their own hands, under a peaceful administration. In all times, hypocrisy and false reasoning have been the inheritance of tyranny.

rich commentary on the political and moral state of Egypt at the accession of this *royal scourge;* on the elements that had prepared this state, of which it was as it were the consequence; in fine, on the changes it occasioned in turn. The accounts of Greek, Roman, and Arabian travellers, in later times, concerning the sculptures, paintings, and constructions of Sesostris, which they saw in masses or in fragments, indicate an astonishing degree of perfection in all the branches of these arts. The article which most interests us, is the military system, which, by its relative force and superiority, indicates preceding wars, whose long continuance produced that perfection which practice creates in every art. But, as Herodotus assures us, that until Sesostris no king of Egypt had made war *out of the country*, it follows that these wars were *internal*, either of one faction or one sect against another, supposing one and the same government; or of one state against another, supposing several parallel kingdoms, according to an hypothesis already advanced, which we shall examine in its proper place. Let us now resume our subject, and continue Herodotus's narrative:—

"The successor of Sesostris, as I was likewise informed by the priests, was his son, called Pheron."

(Diodorus calls him Sesostris II. and Pliny, Nuncl*è*rus or Nunchoreus):

"Pheron's successor was a *man* of Memphis.

called *Proteus*, in whose time Menelaus arrived in Egypt." (Sesostris would have preceded the war of Troy by two reigns.)

§ CXXI. "To Proteus succeeded Rhampsinit; no king of Egypt possessed so great a quantity of gold and silver as this prince."

§ CXXIV. "Until his time, abundance and justice flourished in the land; but there was no kind of wickedness that his successor *Cheops* did not commit. It was he who built the great pyramid which was twenty years building, without reckoning the hewing the stones in the mountains, and the transporting them to their destination, which, during twenty other years, employed a hundred thousand men."

§ CXXVII. "*Cheops* reigned fifty years. His brother *Chephren* succeeded him; became like him a tyrant; built also a great pyramid: (§ CXXVIII.) he reigned fifty-six years. Thus the Egyptians suffered all sorts of calamities during 106 years. And they still hold these kings in such detestation, that they never name them."

§ CXXIX. "To Chephren succeeded *Mykerinus*, son of Cheops; this prince endeavoured to console and relieve the people from the cruelties of both his predecessors: and he is cited before any other for his zeal in administering justice: an oracle condemned him to die, because the destinies having condemned Egypt to be tormented during 150 years, he had not completed the time."

§ CXXXVI. " After Mykerinus reigned *Asychis.*"

§ CXXXVII. " After Asychis reigned a blind man of the city of *Anysis*, and who was called by that name. In his reign, *Sabako*, king of Ethiopia, fell on Egypt with a numerous army; Anysis concealed himself in marshes; Sabako reigned fifty years with mildness and justice; he repaired and improved the dykes and causeways erected by Sesostris; afterwards he withdrew into Ethiopia; Anysis appeared and reigned once more. After *Anysis*, a priest of the god *Phtha* ascended the throne, *as I was told;* this priest, named *Sethon*, was attacked by *Sennacherib*, king of the *Arabs* and Assyrians; Sethon waited for him at *Pelusium*, which is the bulwark and the key of Egypt, and in a single night an immense quantity of rats having infested the enemy's camp, and gnawed the quivers, the bowstrings, and the shield-straps, the Arabs ran away, and perished for the most part. Sethon died afterwards."

§ CXLII. " Until this part of my history, the Egyptians and priests shewed me, that from the first king (Menès) to Sethon, there were 341 *generations* of kings, and as many of priests."

§ CLXVII. " Now I shall relate what took place in Egypt, by the *unanimous avowal* of the Egyptians and other nations; and I shall add to it the things of which I was myself an eye-witness."

Remark these words of Herodotus: "*Now* I shall relate what took place by the *unanimous avowal*," that is to say, his narrators were not agreed concerning several of the facts that he related, and some of which are in fact ridiculous; he tells us himself his own opinion, when he says, § CXXII: "If these words of the Egyptians appear credible to any body, let him believe them; for my part I have no other object in all my narrative, than to transmit what I heard from each person." In consequence of this frankness, he now acquaints us that it is no longer *hearsays* or *traditions* that he is going to relate, but real historical facts, acknowledged as such by the Egyptians and Greeks: and, in fact, setting out from the reign of *Psametichus*, his narration takes, in the details of actions and of dates, a precision which he had not in what precedes.

§ CXLVII. "After the death of Sethon, as the Egyptians could not live a single moment without kings, they elected twelve of them, amongst whom the country was divided; it was by these princes that the labyrinth was built. One of them, named *Psametichus*, at first banished, in the end drove out all the others and reigned alone. He raised an army of Greek soldiers, and admitted into Egypt all traders of that nation; he extended his authority in Palestine; he stopped the Scythians there, after the battle of the Eclipse between

TABLE No. 1.

the Egyptian Priests in the Time of Herodotus.	Annals of the Jews
of the gods (that is to say, of the stars and constellations per-ed) during thousands of years.	
ls, first man-king, built Memphis.	
of obscure kings, of whom eighteen were Ethiopians, and an tian woman.	
e hundred and thirty kings: *Mœris* constructs the lake of his ; dies a little less than 900 years before Herodotus, about the - - - - - - - - - - - - -	1355 years before Jesus Christ.
is, conqueror.	
heron.	
contemporary with the ruin of Troy - - - - - -	1272
it.	
ilds the great pyramid, reigns fifty years, about - - -	1054 according to Diodorus.
r *Chephren* reigns fifty-six years.	
, son of Cheops - - - - - - - - - -	974 Sesak plunders Jerusalem.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -	945 The Ethiopian Zarah b immense army against A
an of the town of *Anysis.*	
pian king *Sabako* expels him and reigns fifty years, about - urns.	740
m Menès to *Sethon*, priest of Vulcan, contemporary with cherib - - - - - - - - - - -	722 Tarajah, king of Ethiopia.
m and olygarchy of twelve kings, of whom Psametichus was	
us reigns in all fifty-four years - - - - - - -	671
of Psametichus - - - - - - - - -	617
Nekos - - - - - -	609 beats Josiah, who perishes.
	604 is beaten at Karkemis by N
son of Nekos, reigns six years - - - - - - -	601
n of Psammis, twenty-five - - - - - - - -	596
	586 Jeremiah takes refuge with
soldier of fortune, forty-four - - - - - - -	570
t, son of Amasis, six months - - - - - - -	526
subdues Egypt - - - - - - - - - -	525

Alyates and Kyaxares. He reigned fifty-four years (including the time during which he shared the authority with his eleven colleagues)."

§ CLVIII. "His son Necho succeeded to him: (having entered Palestine), he fought with the Syrians *(the Jews)*, defeated them and seized on (their capital) *Kadutis*, a considerable city. He reigned sixteen years in all."

§ CLXI. "His son Psammis, who succeeded to him, reigned only six years. Aprièe, son of Psammis, reigned after his father, during twenty-five years; but, abusing of his good fortune, his soldiers deserted him, and he was dethroned by *Amasis*, one of them, (Lib. III. § X,) who reigned forty-four years. His son *Psammenit* succeeded him; but attacked by Kambyses, son of Kyrus, king of the Persians, he was defeated and put to death, having reigned only six months. From that moment Egypt, subdued, was but a province of the Persian empire."

Let us stop here; it gives us a known date: it is certain that Kambyses subdued Egypt in the year 525 before our era: setting out from this point, we ascend with precision to the first year of Psametichus, which was the year 671 before Jesus Christ. (*See* the Table, No. 1.) In this period, the dates of Herodotus are found always to agree with those of the Jewish and Chaldean books, &c. The other Egyptian lists have not this merit, which tends to prove the accuracy of our historian, in every thing

that depended on him. This shall not prevent us from detecting, in his account, several discordancies, which no doubt proceed from his authors.

First, Ascending from Psametichus to Sethon, we find an evident interruption: Psametichus began to reign in 671. The attack of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, against Egypt, and his sudden flight, took place in the year 722. Here is an interval of fifty-one years: it cannot be admitted that Sethon filled them, especially when the other lists prove the contrary. These lists agree with the Jewish books, in placing, in the time of Sennacherib, an *Ethiopian* king, named *Tarakah*, whose immense army was the real scourge of the *Assyrian* king: this Tarakah is the third king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, with a reign of twenty years. This fact is disguised in Herodotus. These twenty years bring us only to the year 702; there remains an interruption of thirty-one or thirty-two years until Psametichus: but the Ethiopian Sabako was already dead before Sethon's time. How could they tell Herodotus, § CLII., "that Psametichus, in his youth, affrighted at the murder of his father Necho, put to death by Sabako, fled into Syria, from whence he returned to be one of the twelve kings."

Psametichus, who reigned fifty-four years, could be scarcely more than thirty when he was elected; consequently, he must have been born about the years 702 or 704 before Jesus Christ. The authors

of Herodotus have here committed some confusion. They mistook the last Ethiopian for the first: and the flight of Psametichus could only have been that of an infant saved by some friends: then this prince might have lived eighty-five or eighty-six years; this is possible.

Second, The *Sabako* of Herodotus seems to be indicated by the Jewish books at the epoch of 731; they say that *Hosea*, king of Samaria, implored assistance from a king of Egypt named *Soua*, or *Seva:* if you add *kush*, signifying *Ethiopian*, you find *Sevakus* or *Sevakos*, as it is written in Manetho's list. It is true, however, that the date of 731 agrees with *Sabako*, the predecessor of Sethos, who reigned in 722. In this hypothesis, the fifty years of Sabako commenced about the year 780; but this is as inadmissible as the return of *Anysis* after these fifty years: we rather adopt the opinion of Desvignoles, who supposes that these fifty years are the totality of the three Ethiopian kings (twenty-fifth dynasty). The lists differ from it only by six years. We believe, therefore, that there was an anarchy from the year 671 to the year 701 or 702, and that Sabako, the first of the three *Ethiopian kings*, entered Egypt about 751 or 750; he is naturally found there in the time of *Hoshea*.

Third, Beyond this date of 750, we have no longer an exact series until Mæris, whose death is placed by Herodotus about 1350 or 1355. Sup-

pose that *Anysis* was the tyrant who, according to the lists, was conquered and burnt alive by Sabak, under the name of the *Bocchoris* of the lists, and that he reigned the six years of the latter, his predecessor *Asychis* must have ended in 737; allowing him a reign of twenty-five or thirty years, he must have begun between 780 and 788. Then came the reign of Mykerinus, which the *oracle* shews not to have been very long. Let us reckon it from the year 800: now the 106 years of the two tyrants, his uncle and father, only bring us to the year 906: there still remain only the three reigns of Rhampsinit, Proteus, and Pheron, to arrive at Sesostris, beyond the year 1300: it is true we can correct the date of *Cheops*, by means of Diodorus, who informs us, that, in his time, the priests* reckoned a *thousand* years from the erection of the pyramid, which places it about the year 1056 before our era; but it is still equally impossible that three reigns should fill up the vacancy from the year 1056 to 1350; there is an evident blank in all this period; from Sesostris to Sabako, there is a disorder in the facts; for, after the fifty years of *Cheops*, that his brother should reign fifty-six years, and then afterwards Mykerinus, *the son of Cheops*, is incredible in genealogy. It is clear that Herodotus received here only general and vague ideas; the only article, founded on a positive

* Diodor. Lib. 1. page 72.

date, is that of king Mæris, said to have *died a little less than* 900 years before the conferences of Herodotus in 460, consequently about 1350 or 1355; but here a difficulty presents itself: Was Sesostris the successor of Mæris? Herodotus does not say so; he even seems to indicate the negative, when, speaking of the kings in general, he says *Sesostris came after them:* in support of the negative, we have Diodorus, who counts seven generations, (or rather *five intermediates*) from Sesostris to Mæris; it is true Diodorus's testimony is, as shall be seen, not much to be relied on in this part; on the other hand, Herodotus seems to recover or recollect himself, when, speaking of the priest Sethon, he reckons from Menès to him 341 *kings*. If from Menès to Mæris there were 330, including the latter, there remain only eleven from him to Sethon; and we find them precisely in the enumeration of Herodotus; this author, therefore, meant to say that Mæris was the father, or at farthest the grandfather of Sesostris, who cannot be placed higher up than 1355. This king having reigned thirty-three years according to Diodorus, forty-eight or fifty-one years according to Manetho, he should really have witnessed the renewal of the famous Sothiac period in the year 1322, as his flatterers pretended in the time of Tacitus; but Tacitus himself* informs us of the uncertainty of

* Tacitus, *Annal.* Lib. VI. § 28, speaking of the duration of the *periods*, whose end produced the apparition of the *Phœnix*, (a fabulous

this opinion, and the epochs he assigns prove its error. And how, in fact, could an incident so re-

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bird), says; "Opinions vary about the number of years; that of 500 is the most universal; that of 1461 is maintained by some authors, who affirm that the Phœnix first appeared under Sesostris (some manuscripts read Sesosis) next, in the time of Amasis; and, lastly, under the third Ptolomy (of Egypt). *But antiquity is obscure:* between this Ptolomy (Euergetes) and Tiberius, there is a little less than 250 years; whence we conclude that these birds are fabulous."

We add, that between Amasis in 570, and Ptolomy in 247, there are 323 years; between Amasis and Mæris 780; thus all is discordant.

The translator of Herodotus thought himself luckier and better informed, when, from an unpublished passage of Theon, he concluded that Sesostris began to reign just in 1365. We have consulted on this same passage, M. M. *Peyrard* and *Halma*, learned hellenists and geometricians, to whom we are indebted for the translation of Euclid and Ptolomy: their answer, in writing, assures us that the text of Theon differs materially from the sense given it by Larcher. Theon says: "If we wish to find the rising of the dog-star in the 100th year of Diocletian, we must take the 1605 years accumulated from Menophrès (king of Egypt) until *the end* of Augustus; adding to them the 100 years elapsed from the commencement of Diocletian, and we shall find 1705 years."

All that we can here discover is, that under Menophres, king of Egypt, there was a precise observation of the rising in question, which served as the basis of the calculations, and that this Menophrès lived 1605 years before the death of Augustus. Larcher pretends that *the end* of Augustus was the end of his era: he places, of his own authority, the end of this era in the year 328 of Jesus Christ; he says, that, by adding this number to that of 1605, we obtain the year 1323 before Jesus Christ, the thirty-third year of Sesostris. It is impossible for us to see how this is done. Moreover, he pretends that Mênophres signifies a *Pharoah, who can be no other than Sesostris;* and he adds, that *mên* is a particle added by the Greeks, *euphoniæ gratiâ* (*See* Translat. of Herodotus, Vol. II. second edition, page 556). We acknowledge that all this is above our comprehension.

markable in the Egyptian superstitions be forgotten or omitted by the priests and historians? Diodorus pretends that the son of Sesostris, or Sesoosis, took the name of his father, and was called Sesostris II. This incident would justify the quotation from Tacitus; but it would still be necessary to explain why the lists copied from Manetho agree, as we shall see, in placing *Sesostris* many years higher, to wit, that of Eusebius in Syncellus, in the year 1376; that of Africanus, 1394, and the (old) chronicle of Alexandria, in the year 1400 before our era. We confess that nothing appears to us demonstrated or decisive concerning the precise date of that conqueror, unless it be that he could not have commenced before 1394 or 1400; nor later than 1371 or 1372, if he reigned forty-eight years. This gives us a little more than a hundred years date before *Ninus*, which sufficiently justifies the assertions of Agathias, Justin, and other authors, who agree in making this Assyrian king posterior to the Egyptian: we shall resume this question in the account of Manetho.

With respect to the times that preceded Sesostris, the account of Herodotus and of his priests is but an uninstructive summary, since it presents in mass 336 *obscure* and sluggish kings; nevertheless, this account gives rise to several weighty objections.

First. To pretend that Menès was the first king of the country, and to attribute to him the gi-

gantic work of changing the course of the Nile to build Memphis in the old bed drained and filled up, &c. is to violate grossly all probability: such works suppose a nation already numerous, a powerful government, arts in an advanced state, &c. Ages are necessary to produce such a state of things: to imagine that a country of 200 leagues in length and 3500 of square surface, should, from the first day, be inhabited by one and the same society, governed by one and the same power, is to have no idea of the physical and political world: the species required time to multiply; the social state time to be organised; and next, the governments of each society, canton, tribe, district, time to quarrel and to subdue each other. In Egypt, as every where else, the population was at first wandering and savage; afterwards, rendered sedentary by the cultivation of the soil, it formed tribes, divided by interests, by passions, naturally bounded by arms of rivers, bogs, &c. These small states, often at war, successively devoured each other. The conquered petty princes became the vassals, the lieutenants of the victorious kings, who, in their turn, subdued by the wickedest and strongest, made way for a single king, a despot, a king of kings; the last was enabled to execute great works. This is universal history. Thus, before there existed in Egypt an identical kingdom, there was a succession of partial states, which became progressively less numerous and larger; and this order of things,

as every where else, left traces in the political divisions of the country, occasioned by the physical obstacles of their frontiers. Thus we may assure that there were, at first, as many tribes as boroughs; afterwards as many nations and states as prefectures; in fine, that three great kingdoms arose, represented by the Thebaid or Upper Egypt, the Delta or Lower Egypt, and the Heptanome or Middle Country, whose physical and even political distinctions still subsist at this day. The king, therefore, who built Memphis, its palaces, its temples, and its dykes, must have been a late monarch in the order of time; and the priests who make him its head, shew that they are but the echoes of a tardy and partial system, which knew or wished to know no other history than that of the monarchy of Memphis, the most powerful, but, the last formed of all. What reasoning dictates to us on this head, we shall see confirmed by the positive testimony of Diodorus's authorities; but, moreover, we find in the account itself of Herodotus's authors, the direct refutal of their opinion. Let us see their own words in § iv. title 2.

§ IV. "In the time of Menès, the first man who reigned over Egypt, all Egypt, except the Thebaic Nome, was nothing but a bog: there appeared none of those lands which we now see on the north of lake Mæris, though there are seven days navigation from that lake to the sea."

§ V. "Any reasonable man, (adds Herodotus)

who examines the ground, even above lake Mæris *(which is Faïoum)*, will be convinced that it is a gift of the river, an earth transported and deposed by it."

Therefore, it is evident that *Memphis* was a modern city when compared with Thebes; that its kings were neither the first nor the most ancient of Egypt; and that, by attributing all to Menès, the authors of Herodotus betray, as we have said, a *local* and tardy *system*, which did not know or would not acknowledge what preceded it.

§ *System of generations.* This systematical and paradoxal character shews itself with still greater evidence in their manner of estimating, *in general*, the time elapsed after Menès, and the duration of the 341 reigns counted, or supposed, from that prince to *Sithon*, contemporary with Sennacherib. "They pretend (says our historian, § CXLII.) that in so long a series of generations, there were as many high-priests as kings: now three hundred generations make 10,000 years; for three generations make a century; and the forty-one exceeding the 300, make 1340 years" (total, 11,340 years.)

First, there is an error in this addition; it should be 1366 and $\frac{1}{3}$, twenty-six years are retrenched from the last generation. The prince who filled it must have reigned only seven years: this agrees with Sethon.

But we see several other objections to be made. First. The word *generation* is improper here; its

true signification is *succession* from *father to son.* But no such *succession* existed, as is avowed by the priests; for Herodotus mentions several kings, such as Sethon, Sabako, Anysis, Asychis, Chephren, Proteus, &c., who were not the sons of their predecessors, without reckoning the seventeen Ethiopians, who were strangers, intruded by violence: besides, Manetho's list proves that there were, until Sethon, twenty-three or twenty-four chasms in the genealogical order, by the passage from one dynasty to another, that is, from family to family. It is, therefore, a great error to pretend to value time by generations, when there was only a succession of reigns, which is very different: the 11,340 years, alledged by Herodotus, have therefore no reasonable authority, and are a pure hypothesis, imagined, perhaps, to measure a space of time whose point of departure might be some remarkable astronomical observation!

Here the candour and good sense of Herodotus fail him. "Having gone to Thebes, (says he, to verify these accounts) the priests of Jupiter conducted me into the interior of a great edifice, where they shewed me as many wooden colossuses as there were *high-priests*, and reckoning them before me (to the number of 345) they *proved* to me that each was the son of his predecessor."

A whimsical proof, indeed, of so extraordinary a fact would be these wooden mannikins, fabricated probably since Kambyses, because that tyrant's

delight was to burn and get burnt all the monuments he could! And who can believe, that in a country which was, as much and more than any other, a prey to civil, political, and religious wars, who can believe that 345 high-priests succeeded each other regularly from father to son? These are sacerdotal stories, invented on purpose to support some system.

But whence comes this valuation of a *generation* to thirty-three years, or of three to a century? It cannot be a Greek system; to establish it on facts, it was necessary to possess long genealogical series; to draw from them a middle term; to compare it with fixed epochs; and the Greeks, who, in Solon's time, could not calculate the epoch of Homer, who could never clearly determine the series of the Lacedemonian kings, were not able to invent or establish a system of this kind. They were the more incapable of doing so, as already proofs of it are to be seen at the time when they were less civilized, at least in Europe, in Homer's time, who, speaking of the great age of Nestor, says, that *he had already lived three generations of man.* (Odyssy, Book III. verse 345; and Iliad, Book I.) The learned Eustathius, in his commentary on this verse (Vol. I. page 192), observes, that "according to the ancients, the word *generation* (gênea), the same that Herodotus employs, signifies thirty years, at the end of which, only, man is supposed to have attained the integrity and perfection of his

organization." This is a scientific idea, which is not at all Homer's. And as every thing scientific in this poet has an Egyptian character, we can say that it is an Egyptian idea of a date so much the more ancient, as it belongs to astrology. The doctors of this school, always full of symmetrical ideas, having examined the life of man, perceived that the *maximum* of his duration was between ninety and a hundred years. On the other hand, observing that all his faculties were really perfectly entire only about thirty; that they experienced a visible decay about sixty, they were glad to find in this subject the tripartite division which they perceived in all nature, that division which distinguishes all existence into period of *encrease*, *period of equilibrium* or stagnation, and *period of decay*. But, because in man the first period was characterized, especially by *propagation*, it received the name of Genea, *generation;* which, in a popular sense, became the expression of a duration of from thirty to thirty-three years; and because the people does not class events with precision, that it only recollects their happening in the time of *such persons*, in the *age*, and *generation*, when they flourished, systematical writers found it convenient to make use of this measure equivalent to thirty years: afterwards, for the conveniency of a more extensive calculation, and in order to avoid a fraction in each century, they made three generations to stand for 100 years, which made each amount to

thirty-three. It is remarkable that the Latin idiom, the ancient Greek of Italy, has preserved traces of these ambiguities; for the word *ætas*, signifying the *age*, the *time*, the *generation*, when *such* a man lived, seems to be only a contraction of *ævitas*, derived from *ævum*, which at first expressed the total duration of life: and was afterwards applied to the period of periods, to that of the moral and physical existence in its *maximum*. It is for this reason that some ancient interpreters of Homer pretended that Nestor lived three centuries; Eustathius, when he proves their error, and explains the doctrine of the ancients, had perhaps in view Aristotle and Plato, the first of whom (Book VII. Chapter 6, *of animals)* says that man is not perfect before the age of thirty, and that he usually loses about the age of sixty the faculty of engendering; and the second advises not to marry before the age of thirty or thirty-five. But these two authorities become new proofs to us of the Egyptian origin, which we assign to these ideas; since it is unquestionable, that Aristotle and Plato have borrowed most of their speculative and systematical ideas from the Egyptian books.

At all events, we can venture to assert, that there existed among the kings of Egypt no genealogical series, no *generation* in the true sense of the word; and that the valuation of the generation at thirty-three years, and even at the middle term of thirty years, as calculated by the successors of

Herodotus, is an arbitrary measure, the application of which would be less a general rule than a case of exception.*

Recapitulating this chapter, we find that the exposition of Herodotus has really an historical accuracy, only ascending from Kambyses to the reign of Psametichus; that, in what precedes that prince, until the epoch of Mœris, there is not sufficient precision for drawing up an uninterrupted scale; that after Mœris the accounts are absolutely vague; and that the only article determined with some degree of certainty, is, the existence of the conqueror Sesostris between the years 1300 and 1350. This was a point of doctrine admitted by all the learned men of Egypt in Herodotus's time; and if we find it altered 150 years after him, our painful task shall be to discover the cause of this change. Let us now examine the system of the priest Manetho.

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* The learned Larcher pretends to have proved incontrovertibly, that the ancient Greeks did not marry before the age of thirty-three. If the reader will take the trouble to read our note at the end of this volume, he will be convinced that never was the abuse of citation carried to so great a length.

CHAPTER III.

SYSTEM OF MANETHO.

MANETHO, as we have said, was near two centuries later than Herodotus: king Ptolomy-Philadelphus having put at his disposal all the archives of the temples, this native priest had great means of information: what use did he make of them? that is the question. He pretended, that Herodotus was false* or mistaken in many things; but he has himself been accused of error and want of judgment; his work being lost, we cannot well judge of his character: we can only say, that if the ancients in general had very little of what is called *spirit of criticism*, it is very probable, that an Egyptian priest was not more particularly endowed with it.

We have, nevertheless, to regret the loss of the three volumes that he dedicated to king Ptolomy. How many curious facts should we not find there, as well as in the books of Berosus and Ktesias? These three authors would have unveiled to us the antient East; for this same reason, fanatical ignorance used all its efforts to destroy them, and has succeeded.

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* *See* Flav. Joseph. against Appion, Book I. § 14, and Syncellus, page 40. 52. 53. &c.

A first step towards this destruction, was the *abridgment* which *Julius Africanus* made of Manetho's work, about the year 230 after Jesus Christ. This christian priest, of Jewish origin, scandalised because the Egyptian chronology made the world some thousand years older than the Jewish books, undertook a general new-modelling of all profane chronologies, and laying down, as the regulator of all calculation, that of the Greek translation, he cut and carved all the others, until he adapted them to it. In this mechanical operation, it is easy to imagine how much the system of Manetho must have been disfigured. This is not all: *Africanus's* book was lost in its turn; we know it only by the extracts taken from it in the ninth century, by the monk George, called *Syncellus;* and this copier avows, that he also took the liberty to carve and to alter.* Judge of the state of the

*The minutious examination of these alterations would lead to nothing: we have only to observe, that in the additions indicated by the compiler, his total does not agree with the partial sums he gives. For instance, the reigns of the nineteenth dynasty give 259 and Syncellus announces 263. Those of the first 263, and Syncellus 253.—The fifth 218, Syncellus 248, &c. In several dynasties there are, at one time, a reign omitted; at another an interruption in the names; on one occasion, in the eighteenth dynasty, Syncellus informs us that Africanus, seeing that his calculations could not bring down Moses to the time of king *Amosis* (as the prevailing opinion required), he suppressed 110 years from a patriarch, to operate the synchronism required.

original! The impartial reader will not require proofs from us, but will content himself with probabilities; and, we flatter ourselves, we shall lay before him sufficiently strong ones.

The extent of Africanus's list has forced us to keep back the upper part for the end of this volume: we have given opposite to it the list of Eusebius, such as we find it in Syncellus; and the reader will observe, to the shame of copiers, that this latter differs not only from Africanus's, though taken both from Manetho, but that it also differs from that of the *Chronicon*, published by Scaliger, as the direct work of the same Eusebius: he will also remark, that in the period best known, that of the kings comprised between Psametichus and Kambyses, the lists are not agreed concerning the durations of the reigns, and that while they differ from Herodotus, they are also in contradiction with the Jewish calculations.

List of Manetho, according to Africanus.		*According to Eusebius in Syncellus.*	
TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY, *Or Family originally from Saïs.*	Years before our era.	Years.	Years before our era.
Years.			
Bocchoris, reigned - - 6	721	- - - - 44	781
TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY, *Ethiopian Kings.*		*Ethiopians.*	
Sabako, reigned - - - 8	715	- - - - 12	737
(He took Bocchoris and burned him alive.)			
Sevechus (his son) - - - 14	707	- - - - 12	725
Tarkus - - - - - 18	693	- - - - 20	713
TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY, *Saïte Princes.*		The Ethiopian. Ammeris - 12	693
Stephinates - - - - 7	675	- - - - - 7	681
Nekepsos - - - - 6	668	- - - - - 6	674
Nekao I. - - - - 8	662	- - - - - 8	668
Psametichus - - - 54	654	- - - - 45	660
Nekao II. he took Jerusalem - 6	600	- - - - - 6	615
Psammutis - - - - 6	594	- - - - 17	609
Uaphris - - - - 19	588	- - - - 25	592
Amosis - - - - 44	569	- - - - 42	567
Psammacherites - - - —6 months			
TWENTY-SEVENTH DYNASTY, *Persian Kings.*			
Kambyses conquered and reigned - - - -	525		525

In fact, according to Africanus, Nechao, son of Psametichus, does not reign until the year 600 before Jesus Christ; and, according to the Jews, he had taken Jerusalem nine years before (609.) According to the Eusebius of Syncellus, this Nechao died in 610, and yet the Jews attest, that he carried on a war in Syria in 604. On the other hand, the Eusebius of the *Chronicon* has very different readings concerning several reigns, and the shocking error of making Kambyses come and reign at Memphis, in the year 530, (the third year of the sixty-second olympiad,) instead of the year 525,

which is the date acknowledged by all authors. When it is also considered, that in this same *Chronicon*, some remarkable events, such as the foundation of Carthage, the legislation of Lycurgus, the birth of Pythagoras, &c. &c. are each set down in two or three dates, differing by twenty, forty, or fifty years, it will be allowed that the ancient ecclesiastical authors, notwithstanding all their zeal, have been more audacious than any of the moderns, and that they merit from us much less respect than severity.

The ancient Egyptian *Chronicle*, published by Syncellus (*see* preceding Table,) does not furnish details of the reigns, but only the sums of each dynasty: it is worthy of remark, that it opens the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, as dates perfectly agreeing with the calculations of the Jews and the priests of Herodotus: this first instance of exactitude claims our confidence, or at least our attention in other cases.

Above Psametichus, the lists of Africanus and Eusebius differ totally from Herodotus's account: they do not speak of the *twelve kings*, of whom that prince was one; they make his father reign, and bring Tarakus too late to coincide with the Jewish books. Every thing accuses their devout authors of an involuntary or premeditated inaccuracy. How account for their discordance concerning the reign of Bocchoris, put down in one at forty-four years, in the other only at six? This Bocchoris, dethroned and *burnt alive by*

Sabako, should be the blind king of the city of *Anysis*, whom Herodotus speaks of. Let us continue the examination of these lists.

Above the twenty-fourth dynasty, we have the following table:—

		Before J. C.	*According to Eusebius*	Before J. C.
NINETEENTH DYNASTY.				
Seven Theban Kings.			*Five Theban Kings.*	
	Years.		Years.	
1 Sethos	51	1394	*Idem* 55	1376
2 Raphakes	61	1346	Rapses 66	1321
3 Ammenophthes	20	1285	*Idem* 40	1255
4 Ramesses	60	1265	Omitted	
5 Ammenemès	5	1205	*Idem* 26	1215
6 Thuoris, contemporary with Troy	7	1198	Idem 7	1189
7 (Omitted)				
TWENTIETH DYNASTY.				
Third Volume of Manetho, Twelve Theban Kings.				
Anonymous, reigned	135		Twelve Theban Kings	
.....	since	1191	reigned 178 since	1182
TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY.				
Seven Tanite Kings.			*Seven Tanites.*	
Smèdes	26	1056	Smendis 26	1004
Phusennes	46	1030	- - - - 41	978
Nephetcheres	4	984	- - - - 4	937
Amenophtis	9	980	- - - - 9	933
Osochor	6	971	- - - - 6	924
Pinaches	9	965	- - - - 9	918
Susennes	30	956	- - - - 25	909
TWENTY-SECOND FAMILY.				
Nine Bubastite Kings.			*Three Bubastite Kings.*	
1 Sesogchis	21	926	Sesogchosis 21	874
2 Ossoroth	15	905	Osorthon 15	853
4	25	890		
6 Tekellotis	13	865	*Idem* 13	838
9	42	852		
TWENTY-THIRD FAMILY.				
Four Tanite Kings.			*Three Tanite Kings.*	
Petubates	40	810	*Idem* 25	825
Osorcho	8	770	- - - - 9	800
Psammus	10	762	- - - - 10	791
Zet	31	752		

If we carefully examine these dynasties, ascending from the twenty-third, we find, also, remarkable differences between Africanus and Eusebius, though they both pretend to have copied Manetho; nothing in them is like Herodotus. We do not see the two tyrants *Cheops* and *Chepren*, with their 106 years; but the first king of the twenty-second dynasty fixes our attention, because his name of *Sesogchis* very much resembles *Sesoch* or *Sesach*, king of Egypt, who, according to the Jews, came, in the year five of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, (974 before Jesus Christ,) to attack and ransom Jerusalem. *Sesoch* is too late in the lists: Africanus's alone places him in the proper century, (926,) and, as we are sure of the date of the Jews, we can pronounce all these lists to be erroneous.

Another remarkable prince, is the first of the nineteenth dynasty, called *Sethos* and *Sethos-is*. *Eusebius* gives him fifty-five years reign, with this variation, that his list in Syncellus places him in 1376, and that in Scaliger in the year 1356. It is about this height that Herodotus places *Sesostris*, and we know by Manetho, in Josephus, that *Sethos-is*, also called *Ramessès* and *Egyptus*, is the same as Sesostris. We are sorry to see Africanus and the *old Chronicle* differ widely from these data, by assigning Sethos to the years 1394 and 1400, without giving us any explanation to reason upon.

Above *Sethos*, the eighteenth dynasty merits at-

EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

According to Manetho in Africanus.	Years.	Before J. C.
Amosis (time omitted)		
Chebros - reigns	13	1653
Amenophtis - -	21	1640
Amerais - -	22	1619
Misaphris - -	13	1597
Misphragmutos-is -	26	1584
Tuthmos-is - -	9	1558
Amenophis - -	31	1549
Horus - -	37	1518
Acherrès - -	32	1481
Rathos - -	6	1449
Chebres - -	12	1443
Acherrès - -	12	1431
Armeses - -	5	1419
Rameses - -	1	1414
Amenoph - -	19	1413
Total	259	
Sixteen kings, who, according to the author, give 263 years, and the apparent total is - - -	259	
NINETEENTH DYNASTY.		
Sethos - -	51	1394

According to Eusebius in Syncellus.	Years.	Before J. C.
Amosis - reigns	25	1740
Chebron - -	13	1715
Ammenophis -	21	1702
Miphris - -	12	1681
Misphragmutos-is -	26	1669
Tuthmosis - -	9	1643
Amenophis - -	31	1634
Orus - 36 or	38	1603
Achenchersès -	12	1577
Athoris - -	39	1565
Chencheres - -	16	1526
Acherrès - -	8	1512
Cherrès - -	15	1504
Armès - -	5	1589
Ammeses - -	68	1484
Memophis - -	40	1416
Total	376	
Sixteen kings, according to the author, giving - -	348	
NINETEENTH DYNASTY.		
Sethos - -	55	1376

According to Eusebius in Scaliger.	Years.	Before J. C.
Idem - -		1704
Idem - -		1679
Idem - -		1666
Nephrès - -	*Id.*	1645
Idem - -		1633
Idem - -		1607
Idem - -		1598
Orus - -	38	1567
Achencherrès -		1529
Achoris - -	7	1517
Chencherrès - -	18	1510
Idem - -		1492
Idem - -		1484
Idem - -	*Id.*	1469
Armais - -	*Id*	1464
Rameses - -	*Id.*	1396
Menophis		
Total	348	
NINETEENTH DYNASTY.		
Sethos - -	55	1356
The Egyptians begin to have a king of their nation - - -		

tention, because it offers three princes, who play an important part in a passage of Manetho, preserved by Josèphus: these princes are the fifth, the sixth, and the last. (Miphragmutos, Tethmos, and Amenoph.—*See* list, page 367.)

Above this dynasty, Eusebius places immediately that of the *pastor kings*, whose invasion and tyranny was one of the great events in the history of Egypt. Africanus, on the contrary, advances them two dynasties higher (to the fifteenth:) this difference has given rise to warm disputes amongst commentators. Syncellus pretended, that Eusebius had committed a material forgery to satisfy some systematical congruities, and Scaliger has admitted the charge. But what will Syncellus and Scaliger answer, when we prove, that the arrangement of Africanus is in its own nature absurd; that it is contradicted by a positive text of Manetho, cited by Josephus; and that here Eusebius is authorised by the *ancient Chronicle*, whose system he seems to follow preferably after the sixteenth dynasty: let us begin by examining the fragment of Manetho, which Josephus pretends he transcribed literally.

§ First. *Text of Manetho in his second volume.*

" We formerly had a king called *Timaos*, in whose time, God being incensed against us, for what reason I do not know, there came from the quarter of the East a race of men of ignoble con-

dition, but extremely bold, who made a sudden incursion into this country (of Egypt,) which they subdued without fighting, and with the greatest facility. First, having seized on the chiefs or princes, these strangers treated, in the cruelest manner, the towns and their inhabitants, and they overturned the temples of the gods. Their conduct towards the Egyptians was most barbarous, killing some, and reducing to the hardest slavery the wives and children of the others. They afterwards gave themselves a king called *Salatis*, who resided at Memphis, and who, placing garrisons in the most convenient positions, subjected to tribute both the *superior* and the *inferior province:* he fortified especially the eastern frontier, apprehending an invasion of the Assyrians, at the time very powerful; and because he remarked in the nome of Saïs, to the east of the *branch* (of the Nile called) Bubastite, a city advantageously situated, which, in our ancient theology, is called *Avar*, he surrounded it with strong walls, and placed a garrison in it of 240,000 armed men: every summer he came there (from Memphis,) as well to make the harvest, and acquit the pay and salaries, as to exercise that multitude and intimidate foreigners: after nineteen years reign he died; his successor, named *Bêon*, reigned forty-four years; next *Apachnas*, thirty-six years and seven months; next *Apophis*, sixty-one years; next *Yanias*, fifty years, afterwards *Assis*, forty-nine years and two months.

"These six first kings carried on, constantly, against the Egyptians, a war of extermination. All this race went by the name of *Yksos*, that is to say, *pastor kings;* for, in the sacred language, *Yk* signifies *king*, and in the common dialect *sos* signifies *pastor*.

"According to some authors, this was an *Arabian* people, yet Manetho says, in another work, that, according to some books he consulted, the word hyksos meant *captive pastor*, hyk in the Egyptian language, and *hak* with an aspiration, signifying *captive:* and this, says he, appears to me more probable and more conformable to ancient history." (Josephus continues.)

Manetho says, moreover, that these *pastor kings*, and *their successors*, possessed Egypt about 511 years; but the kings of the Thebaid, and those of the *rest of Egypt*, having commenced against them a long and obstinate war, they continued it until under one of these kings named *Alisphragmutos* (read *Misphragmutos*,) the pastors, beaten and driven out of the country, shut themselves up in a place called *Avar*, 10,000 acres in circumference; Manetho says, that the pastors surrounded this spot with a strong and immense wall, for the defence and preservation of their persons and booty. After *Alisphragmutos*, his son, named Thummosis, came with 480,000 men to besiege that place; but, unable to take it by force, he made with the *pastors* a treaty, stipulating, that

they might safely and peaceably retire out of Egypt; by this means, they carried away their families and all their booty, &c. &c. and left the country, to the number of 240 *thousand*, crossing the desert that leads to Syria; but, because they dreaded the *Assyrians*, who were at the time all-powerful in Asia, they stopped in the country called *Judea*, and built there a city called *Jerusalem*, capable of containing their whole number.

Here Josephus, arguing from the signification of *captive pastor* given by *some books* to the word *yksos*, endeavours to conclude from it, that here is meant the Hebrew people led by Moses; let us pass over this false hypothesis, in which the Jewish writer bewilders himself, to attend to the account of the Egyptian priest.

In this account, several faults appear on an attentive perusal.

First, If, as is the fact, the name of *Thummos's* father is constantly written, *Misphragmutos* in *Africanus* and in the two lists of Eusebius, it is evident that the *Alisphragmutos* of Josephus is an error of the transcriber, who mistook the Greek M, badly written, for AA, which, when joined, have nearly the same appearance: the manuscripts of Josephus are full of these faults. This correction renders evident the intimate connexion of the eighteenth dynasty with that of the pastors, as well by the identity of the names and qualities of the two kings, quoted five and six in the lists, as

by their title of *Theban kings*. *Amenoph*, the last, is mentioned in a subsequent account.

Second, It results from this first point, that the expulsion of the pastors took place in the course of this eighteenth dynasty, a little more than 100 years after its commencement, and for this reason, Africanus is accused and convicted of error; for, since the expeller was *Thummos*, it is clear, that the first years of his dynasty until him, were parallel with the last years of the pastors; now this gives rise to a double employ of a *hundred years*, at least, which we are to deduct from one of the dynasties; it is also clear, that Eusebius was right in joining immediately the expelled and the expelling dynasty, whereas their separation in Africanus forms an inconceivable and most absurd hiatus, which we shall soon see condemned by Manetho himself. It is further to be remarked, that Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, gives the *pastors* only 103 years duration, which is the exact sum of their dynasty, in the *ancient Chronicle*, where they are called Memphite kings, on account of their capital: it should here seem, that the ancient chronicle has avoided the double employ just-mentioned; for if to the 103 years it reckons, we add the hundred and odd years elapsed between *Amos-is* and *Thummos*, we have a total of two hundred and some years, which is nearly that given by Josephus. On the other hand, Eusebius, by placing the commencement of this eighteenth dy-

nasty in the year 1740, also evidently imitates the *ancient Chronicle*, which assigns it to the year 1748: and this imitation, which acquits him of the charge of forgery, would lead us to believe, that he discovered the shocking inconsistencies of Africanus, and had the good sense to prefer to him the *ancient Chronicle*, whose authority appears to us to increase at every step.

But how to explain the *five hundred and eleven* years, which, according to Josephus, elapsed between the entry of the *pastors* and the expulsion of *their successors?* who are those successors? we see, in Africanus, a dynasty of *Greek pastors*, to the number of thirty-two kings, succeed the *pastor kings* during 518 years: here are nearly the *five hundred and eleven* of Josephus, and even exactly the 518 that he again brings forward in his controversy against Manetho; but the Egyptian priest appears to have included, in the 511, the whole duration of the six *pastor kings*, whom Africanus leaves out. The latter, therefore, has here again made a double employ, or is it Manetho's text, which by an ambiguity gave rise to error and confusion? this difficulty is evident in the paragraph of Josephus under discussion, and commencing with these words: "Manetho also says, that the *pastor kings*—." Here Josephus no longer copies the original; it is he himself who speaks, and resuming an article of the text now lost, he deduces from it the total sum of 511, without telling us the

partial sums that compose it. To form an idea of what was in the text, we should recollect, that in the preceding article, Manetho said that the *pastor kings* were called *Yksos;* that this name was composed of two Egyptian words, *yk* signifying *king*, and *sos*, *pastor;* but that, in other books, he found the word hyk and hâk with an aspiration signifying *captive:* in the latter case, it appears that Manetho meant the Hebrews, who, by their own account, were at the same time *captives* or *prisoners* of the Egyptians, and *pastors* of Chaldean origin, that is to say, *Arabs* like the pastor kings; this last circumstance might have contributed to some confusion: and because afterwards Manetho, when he explains the origin of the Hebrews, and their flight from Egypt under Moses, whom he names *Osarsiph*,* pretends that they were a *popular mob*, composed of every sort of leprous and impure persons, to the number of eighty thousand, driven out by king *Amenoph*, father of *Sethos*, by order of an oracle, the Jew Josephus, indignant at the comparison, quits his text to argue against him, and to prove that his ancestors were the *pastor kings;* this pretension is inadmissible; but it is probable that Manetho, after speaking of the *captive pastors*, resumed in a mass all the time elapsed from their expulsion by *Amenoph*, to the entry of the *pastor*

* § 26, against Appion, Lib. I.

kings under *Timaos*, and that he estimated all this time at the sum of 511 years. This, no doubt, is what Josephus meant to say; and, in fact, setting out from the year 1400, when king *Amenoph* reigned; according to the lists, these 511 years ascend to the year 1911, as the original date of the invasion of the pastors; but because there was a double employ of the hundred first years of the dynasty of *Tethmosis*, we must reckon only 1811, and the Eusebius of Syncellus gives 1830 for the date of the entry of the pastor kings. The Eusebius of the Chronicon gives 1807; which comes sufficiently near. Besides, the more we scrutinize Manetho, and the more we shall discover that he had no clear ideas concerning his subject in general, nor in particular concerning that we are speaking of. The errors, the contradictions, the discordancies of his copiers render it probable, and Diodorus will compleat the proof.

The historian Josephus, in his argumentation against that priest, furnishes us with other proofs of error on both their accounts. But it is difficult to conceive his extraordinary absence of mind in the list of the kings, who, as he says, succeeded to Tethmos, the expeller of the *pastor kings*. " After this expulsion,* says he, Tethmos reigned twenty-five years, then after him reigned his son *Chebron*, &c. &c. Follow the list copied, as he says, from Manetho:—

* Against Appion, Lib. I. § 26.

LIST OF JOSEPHUS,

(EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.)

After the Expulsion of the Pastor Kings.

	Years.	Months.	
Tethmos-is, reigns	25	4	
His son Chebron	13		
Amenoph, (I.)	20	7	
His sister Amess-is	21	9	
Mephris	12	9	
Mephramutos	25	10	
Tmos-is	9	8	
Amenoph, (II.)	30	5	partial Total, 128 years, 11 ms.
Orus	36	5	
His daughter Acencher-es	12	1	
His brother Rhatot-is	9		
Acencheres	12	5	
Acencheres	20	3	
Armaïs	4	1	
Ramesses	1	4	
Amessès Miâmi	46	2	
Amenoph, (III.)	19	6	
General Total	320	7	partial Total, 191 years, 8 ms.
Sethos-is, called also *Rameses* (Sesostris)			

"But, (says he) in his recapitulation, how can Manetho place under *Amenoph*, the departure of the pastors for Hierusalem, when he places that departure 518 years earlier, under Tethmos?"

We find here two faults, first, Josephus told us 511 years, and now he says 518; but what is much

more important, he says, or makes his author say, "that the *pastors* and their *successors possessed* Egypt *during* 511 years:" which, consequently, should be reckoned from their entrance (into possession,) and now he wants to reckon them from their departure or expulsion: this is not all: he accuses Manetho of introducing a false *Amenoph*, without any known date; and yet Manetho expressly states, that Amenoph was father of *Sethos* (Sesostris,) *who at the time of the expulsion was five years old;* which classes him sufficiently.

"But," adds he, "from Tethmos to *Sethos*, the intermediate years amount to 393."

It therefore is no longer 511 or 518; it is not even the number given by the list, which is 320, leaving a deficit of seventy-three years; but what is worse, this list, when compared with the analogous ones in Africanus and Eusebius, accuses and convicts Josephus of an inconceivable mistake, in placing at the head of the dynasty the expelling king, who was only the seventh; in confounding him, under the name of *Tethmosis*, with *Amosis*, the true first king who reigned twenty-five years; and in not recognizing him in *Tmos-is*, son of *Mephragmutos*, written by himself before *Alisphragmutos*. Are such errors to be attributed to transcribers? what reliance can be placed on the manuscripts, or on the author? how many difficulties the Jew Josephus might have spared us, if he had the smallest notion of criticism. He leaves

us at a loss entirely as to the dates of the entrance and departure of the pastors. Let us try if, in the text of Manetho, which he cites, some circumstances can direct us in this respect.

§ II. *Analysis of the Text cited by Josephus.*

"Formerly we had a king called *Timaos.*"

Why is not this name found upon any list? is it not because the pastors having pillaged every thing, the archives of Memphis were destroyed? this is confirmed by the disorder and insignificance of the previous lists, as shall be seen.

"And in the time of Timaos there came from the quarter of the east (by the isthmus of Suez), a race of men of ignoble condition (pastors much despised by the husbandmen of Egypt), and these men extremely bold, subdued the country without *fighting*, and with the greatest facility."

[Therefore the Egyptians, insulated from the world, and entirely addicted to agriculture, lived till then in profound peace. Therefore, they were still in those ages of obscurity spoken of by Herodotus, before *any king had distinguished himself* by great works, or by foreign or domestic wars.]

"And this foreign people, said by some authors to have been *Arabs*, treated the Egyptians in the cruelest manner, killing the chiefs, destroying the towns, overturning the temples, and reducing the *people to slavery.*"

We ask what became of the historical monu-

ments, during two centuries that this tyranny lasted.

" After the first disorders the *pastors* gave themselves a king."

[Therefore they had none before; they must have lived as independent tribes (though associated together), after the manner of the Arabs.]

" And this king, named Salatis, resided in Memphis."

In which? for there were two Memphis; one, the old and the first, situate on the east of the Nile, and on the side of Arabia, according to Herodotus and Diodorus; the other, founded later, and at once, by a powerful monarch whom Diodorus calls *Uchoreus*, who executed the great work wrongly attributed by Herodotus to *Menès*. Salatis must have resided in the old and first *Memphis*, which, by its position, was more exposed to the pastors. The second Memphis would have opposed more resistance on account of its *trenches* and *ramparts;* without taking into consideration that these *trenches* and *ramparts* could not yet have existed at that epoch of a pacific, negligent, anti-military state. The first idea of them was probably suggested only by this misfortune and its consequences.

But why is not a word said of *Heliopolis*, a city no less important, and which being on the road to Memphis, should have been attacked and taken before it? Are we not to conclude that it did not

yet exist? in that case may not this city have been built by these pastors, while fortifying the *eastern frontier*, and dedicated to their *god Sun?* this hypothesis coincides with a passage of Pliny,* who tells us that Heliopolis was founded by the *Arabs*, such as these are represented: again, in this case, if the Jews place at *Heliopolis* (which they call *On)*, the Egyptian king at their entry into Egypt, this entry must be later than the pastors; and if the conqueror Sesostris, when he constructed a wall on this frontier, terminated it on the one hand at Pelusium, and on the other at *Heliopolis*, he therefore found this latter city already built; his reign was therefore subsequent to the foundation of Heliopolis, and to the reign as well as the expulsion of the *pastors*. We must not overlook this fact.

"But Salatis placed at Memphis, subjected to tribute, both the *superior* and *inferior* province."

If Salatis, after having taken Memphis, resided there, it is probable that this city was already the capital of the country. Then it is easy to understand that the *inferior province* was *Lower* Egypt, the *Delta*. But what is meant by *superior province?* are we to understand all *Upper Egypt* and the kingdom of Thebes? that cannot be; for if a city of the importance and celebrity of Thebes had been taken, Manetho would not have failed to

* Hist. Natur. Lib. VI. page. 343. Edit. of Hardouin.

mention it; and, besides, we should not see in his subsequent narrative, the kings of Thebes figure as chiefs of the league formed against the pastors, and of the obstinate war that expelled them. The *superior province*, therefore, was only the *Heptanomis*, that portion of Egypt which at all times formed one of its three grand divisions, and we have a right to suppose that the pastors were stopped about *Osiout* by the opposition of the kings of Thebes, and by the natural obstacles of the soil, which have at all times formed a line of separation between Upper and Lower Egypt, and defended the frontier of the *Saïd* against attacks coming from below.

"And the *Kings* of the Thebaid having formed a league with *those of the rest* of Egypt, they undertook a long and violent war."

Here are clearly expressed *other kings of Egypt* than those of Memphis and Thebes; there were, therefore, in the time of the pastors, several great or small kingdoms in Egypt. Our learned men attempt to deny the fact; but their arguments, contradicted by reasoning, by the nature of things, and by positive testimony, do not merit attention. It is sufficient to observe, that at a later period the little country of Kanaan reckoned thirty or thirty-two kings or petty princes, who were subdued by Joshua, to conceive that a country like the Delta, more extensive than Palestine, and intersected by arms of the river, by bogs and deserts, must have had and preserved a long time chiefs or kings who,

either independent, or vassals of the king of *Memphis*, escaped or resisted the pastors, invoked the assistance of the kings of Thebes, who maintained their power, and seconded them against the common enemy of the nation.

We see that in this anecdote of the *pastor-kings*, Egypt is represented to us in the state of weakness and inexperience mentioned by Herodotus, as having preceded the times when Egyptian kings distinguished themselves by great works and foreign wars. Consequently, *Mœris* had not yet dug his immense lake; Sesostris had not made his immense conquests; and this is positively indicated by Manetho, in Josephus, when the latter copying his list of the successors of Tethmos, names *Ramessès*, called *Miâmi*, then his son *Amenoph*, then his children Armaïs and *Sethos-is*, called also *Ramessès*, (like his grandfather), *who had powerful and numerous armies by land and sea.* All that Josephus says of this *Sethos-is*, proves him to be *Sesostris*, as we have already said.

But what was the precise period of the pastors? an expression in Manetho gives us on this point rather a glimmer than a light: "Salatis," says he, "*fortified especially the eastern frontier*, apprehending an invasion of the *Assyrians* at the time all-powerful in Asia." Where did Manetho find this motive, he could not have in his possession the archives of Salatis; the Egyptians wrote no memoirs at that epoch of persecution. It is, there-

fore, an idea of Manetho himself, who, a disciple of the Greeks, desirous of pleasing them, and having before him the history of the Assyrians, by Ktesias, thought to give here a proof of erudition and discernment, by comparing the dark ages of his country with a foreign epoch better known. This does not give us the precise date, but shews us a limit beyond which the invasion of the pastors can no longer be placed; this limit is the foundation of the Assyrian empire by Ninus: according to Ktesias, this prince reigned about the years 2000 or 2100 before Jesus Christ.* The invasion of the pastors, according to Manetho, is therefore posterior to that date, and probably by a great many years; but whether is it Josephus, or the ancient Chronicle, or the lists of Eusebius and Africanus, that is the interpreter of Manetho? all their data are different: according to the Chronicle, it was the year 1851; according to Eusebius in his Chronicon, it was the year 1807, and 1830 in his list of Syncellus; according to Africanus, it was in 2612.

Here this copier is once more convicted of error and infidelity, *unless Manetho is himself guilty of contradiction*: for this date of 2612 surpasses by more than five centuries the reign of Ninus; consequently, it anticipates by that whole sum on the

* Eusebius, who follows this author, reckons 2024; and Larcher 2107.

extreme limit assigned by the Egyptian priest, and by nearly 800 years on the dates of Eusebius and the ancient Chronicle. There incontestibly results from this, that the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasties of pretended *Greek and anonymous pastors*, are proved to be false by positive testimony, as we had proved them absurd by simple reasoning; thus the 153 years of the seventeenth dynasty, and the 518 of the sixteenth, are merely to fill up the list, and Africanus might have taken the idea from Josephus, in the article we censured, if he did not find it in Manetho himself. What confidence can we for the future grant this copier? and yet we are not at the last error or contradiction that can be proved.

Ascending in his list to the twelfth dynasty, we are revolted at finding there the famous *conqueror Sesostris* set down as the *third prince*, with circumstances that come rather from Herodotus than Manetho. We have seen the latter author place him by the name of *Sethos* in the same rank, and consequently at the same epoch as the lists of Eusebius and Africanus, at the head of the nineteenth dynasty: we have seen Herodotus agree with these testimonies, in placing him in the same century. We observe that there would be a contradiction, an inexplicable chaos, in supposing that Egypt, raised to the highest degree of political power and military art, under Sesostris, could relapse into the degree of weakness and ignorance in which the

pastors found it. How then is such an anachronism found in the list of Africanus,* the copier of Manetho, and what is more extraordinary in that of Diodorus his successor, as we shall see? this is a true literary problem, that embarrassed us a long time: whatever might have been its original cause, it had one, and it is interesting to discover it; after many indications, principally concerning the morality and means of instruction of our authors, we think we have found out the word of the enigma in the confidence granted by Manetho to Ktesias, and in the political and literary circumstances in which the Egyptians and Persians respectively found themselves in that author's time.

We considered that when the Egyptians, in the year 413 before Jesus Christ, shook off the Persian yoke, there must necessarily have been a recrimination on the part of the great king and his statesmen, who, according to the custom of all times and of all men in power, did not fail to represent it as a *rebellion* against the *legitimate authority*. The Egyptians had two solid answers to oppose to this accusation: First. Their state of natural independence before Kambyses had subdued them unjustly: Second. Their state even of supremacy before the existence of the Persian empire, since it was proved, by their annals, that the conqueror Se-

* We do not speak of the list of Eusebius, because it does not appear that this author knew Manetho otherwise than by the interposition of Africanus.

sostris had subjected to tribute all the nations of that part of Asia before the existence of the Assyrian empire itself. This order of facts was true in the sense in which it was presented by Herodotus, who, as we have seen, placed Sesostris beyond the year 1300, and Ninus about the year 1230 or 36 only: in favour of this opinion was the very silence of monuments and traditions, which never said or insinuated that Sesostris took the impregnable cities of Nineveh and Babylon, or that they resisted that invincible warrior, an alternative equally remarkable, the memory of which must have been preserved: they should even have added what we read in *Cedrenus*,* to wit, that Sesostris left a colony of 15,000 Scythians in the country of the Persians, who allied with them. The pride of the court of the great king must have been infinitely shocked at these allegations; but as diplomacy was never without resources, particularly in despotical governments, some cunning courtier imagined an effectual means of contradicting or eluding these facts, by elevating the reign of Ninus above the time of Sesostris, in an obscure and unattackable epoch. This was the more easily accomplished, as the Persian chancery, which we have seen in activity under Kyrus, under Kambyses, and under Darius,† pos-

* *Cedren. Histor. Compendium*, page 20.

† *See* the passages of Ezra, cited in our first volume, page 409, and in this, page 175.

sessed alone the archives of the Medes and Assyrians. It therefore could fabricate lists of kings and durations of reigns, at will, and as necessity required. This is the fraud we alluded to at page 32 of this volume, when we proved the doubling of the Median kings by Ktesias, and shewed that this author was strongly suspected of having performed a similar operation on the list of the kings of Assyria; we had at the time the conviction we renew here: but reflecting on these expressions of Diodorus, "that *Ktesias*, admitted into Artaxerces's good graces, had in his possession the royal archives, and after having carefully examined all the facts, *put them in order*," &c. We are now disposed to believe that this Greek, a sly and supple mercenary, was himself the counsellor and author of the fraud: at all events, it appears to us positive: its epoch must have been between the years 380 and 390, when Ktesias was in favour, consequently about twenty years after the insurrection of the Egyptians. The latter, when informed of this unexpected argument, must have been embarrassed; but because the spirit of the ancient cabinets was similar (as well as that of their temples) the statesmen of the reigning Pharaoh, (probably Nectanebus First) had recourse to the same expedient, and they in their turn combined that scaffolding of lists which makes Sesostris precede Ninus by several centuries: hence the two systems of chronology which divided the ancient

and disconcerted the modern authors: one, which we call the *ancient*, which we find in Herodotus, and even in the ancient Chronicle; the other, the *new* system, which is presented to us by Diodorus and Africanus, Manethos's copiers. We cannot consider the Egyptian priest as its inventor; but it seems to us that, not possessing the talent of criticism, he compiled without understanding it, and that it is from him that Diodorus borrowed it.

It also appears that Manetho himself favours our conjecture concerning its *novelty*, by giving the epithet of *ancient* to the anonymous Chronicle he joined to his book, whence Syncellus extracted it by the interposition of Africanus.* Some learned men pretend that its composition was tardy, and subsequent to Nectanebus Second, that is to the year 350, where Manetho's work also terminated; but it is proved, by a number of examples, that ancient manuscripts of similar chronicles have received additions and continuations after the death of their first author, from those who possessed them, or allowed copies of them to be taken. Thus the mention of Nectanebus Second proves nothing; and if it be considered, on one hand, that Manetho must have had his reasons for calling *ancient* the Chronicle we are speaking of; and, on the other hand, that it differs essentially from the plan of that writer,

* Syncellus, page 52, 53.

because above the sixteenth dynasty, that is to say, a little beyond the pastors, it admits or knows of no historical fact (as if to shew that the persecution of these tyrants had effaced every trace of it) that, moreover, in the inferior dynasties, it comes near Herodotus's plan; we shall be inclined to think that it was composed a little after Kambyses, when the mild reign of Darius Hystasp allowed the learned men of Egypt to collect the remnants of their monuments, burnt or dispersed by the savage son of Kyrus. Such ideas are conceived under such circumstances: then it preceded Manetho by nearly 240 years, and thereby merited, with respect to him, the title of *ancient*, especially if he had, as we believe, some reason to suppose that the system we disapprove of did not exist before. Whatever may be thought of these conjectures, to return to the primitive point of our discussion, it has been proved by the combined testimonies of all the ancients, that the reign of Sesostris, prior to that of Ninus, must have been subsequent to the invasion of the pastors. This second point is demonstrated by reasoning. In fact, according to the table of that conqueror's reign, it is impossible, as we have already said, to conceive how Egypt could have relapsed into the state of weakness and degradation in which the pastors found it. Every thing, in this hypothesis, proceeds in a contrary direction to the natural course of political affairs; every thing follows, on the contrary, a na-

tural course, when it is admitted that the epoch of ignorance and slavery preceded, and even prepared the epoch of liberation and military energy, which afterwards went on encreasing and developing itself.

At the moment when the pastors arrive, we see Egypt, in consequence of its primitive state of partition into savage hordes, still divided into several states, and certainly into two principal kingdoms, whose capitals were *Thebes* and *old Memphis*. The population, entirely agricultural, is, like that of Chaldea, in the time of Ninus, unexperienced in the art of war: the warlike stranger subdues, without any difficulty, that of the Delta, and oppresses it most cruelly. It is probable that this persecution was an epoch of emigration, to which may be assigned certain Egyptian colonies in Greece, in Italy, in Babylonia, mentioned by monuments and by historians.—Thebes resisted by its topographical position, and by the power of its kings, who appear to have already elevated the gigantic masses of its temples and palaces: this is indicated by Diodorus. Lower Egypt ravaged, enslaved, deprived of all its leaders, must have looked up to the Theban kings, who spoke the same language, and were of the same blood. They became its natural protectors, its national kings.—Their country was a place of refuge; their power was the means of delivery invoked.—A stifled and continual war must have been carried on.—Men's

arms became inured to war, courage began to revive; some first successes raised their hopes; an open war broke forth: its *length* and *obstinacy* gave the Memphites military habits they were unacquainted with; all Egypt became military. On the other hand, the *bold* race of pastors must have defended its prey step by step. A first effort having driven them from Memphis, they could defend themselves in Heliopolis, and afterwards in Pelusium, where they resisted extraordinary efforts. During that time the kings of Thebes took possession, first of the Hyptanomis, next of the Delta, by right of conquest, and by the national consent. When at length they had entirely expelled the stranger, they were, by right and by fact, considered as the legitimate masters of all the country, as the natural successors of the ancient kings, whose race was extirpated; it is therefore at this epoch, that is to say, reckoning from the reign of *Tethmos*, that Egypt began to form one and the same empire, whose unity was no longer broken except momentarily. Then these monarchs, invested with a triple and quadruple mass of power, by the union of seven or eight million of men under the same sceptre,* and by all the tributes of the most fruitful soil, in an extent of three

* According to some authors, such as Pliny and Diodorus, Egypt had near ten millions of inhabitants; but it is a great deal, unless they included in it the dependencies beyond the cataracts and in the *Oasis*.

thousand five hundred square leagues, these monarchs had the means, and soon formed the plans of these works, at first useful and great, afterwards gigantic and extravagant, the successive order of which is traced in Herodotus, and whose execution was not practicable before.

The first of these works, with respect to the Egyptians of *Memphis*, was the foundation of their city, which was liable to two versions, on account of the ambiguity of the *old* and the *new* town; the *old* was naturally attributed to king *Menès*, more *god* than *man*, whom we shall also see first king at Thebes, and who seems to have been synonimous with Osiris. The second, which was the *new* Memphis, is said by Diodorus to have been the work of a powerful king, called *Uchoreus*, with whom the lists offer us a synonimous king in *Achoris*,* the successor of *Tethmos*. Only such a prince could have turned a river, like the Nile, to construct an entire city on its bed, filled up. Experience, by discovering the weakness of the *old* Memphis, suggested the idea of this *new* creation, in which powerful means of defence were united to convenience. Diodorus informs us, that soon the "*residence of the new Memphis appeared so delicious to the kings*, that they aban-

* *Athoris* in the Eusebius of Syncellus, Acheye I. in Africanus: the Egyptian letter might embarrass the Greeks, who may not have had a corresponding one.

doned that of Thebes, whose splendour continually declined after." Here then is Thebes become the vassal without a commotion, without a revolution, and the silence of history is explained concerning the confusion often made of the two capitals.

After the creation of Memphis by Uchoreus, the first work, great, and worthy of admiration, was, according to Herodotus, the lake of *Mœris*, that king whose reign preceded Sesostris's but a short time. If the latter is placed about the year 1360 or 1365, as we have said, Mœris can be at no great distance: and if we do not find his name between *Uchoreus* and *Sesostris*, it is because many of these princes had several names. We know of at least four for Sesostris. In this new work we discover an encreasing progress in power: the conquests of *Sesostris* are but another kind of the expansion, another consequence of the progressive accumulation of means after the reign of *Tethmos*. The war against the pastors had obliged that prince to raise a great military force; he could reduce, but not annihilate it. His successors, by the natural disposition of all who govern, must have found it convenient and useful to maintain this strong army, as well to resist any foreign attack, as to exact submission at home; military habits were contracted, they were preserved. Tactics were cultivated, and it was from that source that Sesostris derived the instruments of conquest, which his genius taught him to employ. Thus it

TABLE N°. II.

Old Egyptian Chronicle in Syncellus.

Numbers of the Dynasties.	Names of the Dynasties	Number of the Kings.	Duration of the Time.	Before J. C.	ACCORDING TO SCALIGER'S EUSEBIUS. Names of the Dynasties.	Duration of the Reigns.	Before J. C.	ACCORDING TO AFRICANUS. Kings.	Sum of the Years.
XVI.	Tanite Kings - -	8	190 years.	2041	16 Theban kings reigning over all Egypt, since Ninus - -	190 years.	2003	32	518
XVII.	Memphite — - -	4	103	1851	5 Pastor kings - -	103	1813	86	153
XVIII.	Memphite — - -	14	348	1748	16 Theban kings - -	348	1710	16	284
XIX.	Theban — - - -	5	194	1400	5 Kings: 1st native over all Egypt - -	178	1362	6	204
XX.	Theban — - -	8	228	1206	00 Theban kings - -	178	1184	12	135
XXI.	Tanite — - -	6 gener.	121	978	8 Tanite kings - -	129	1006	7	130
XXII.	Tanite — - -	3	48	857	3 Bubastite kings - -	49	877	9	116
XXIII.	Diospolite or Theban —	2	19	809	3 Tanite kings - -	44	828	4	89
XXIV.	Sait — - -	3 gener.	44	790	1 Sait king, Bonchoris -	46	784	1	6
XXV.	Ethiopian — -	3 gener.	44	746	3 Ethiopian kings, of whom the 1st is Sabako -	44	738	3	40
XXVI.	Memphite — - -	7 gener.	177	702	9 Sait kings - -	169	694	9	150 6m.
		63	1516 years.		Total -	1488 years.		185	1707
XXVII.	The Persian king Kambyses - - -	- - -	- - -	525	Kambyses - - -	- - -	525	- -	525
									2232 6m.

is from the reign of the Pastors that we can deduce, as natural consequences, all subsequent events.

If, after Sesostris, his third successor, *Rhampsinit*, shews us the *greatest mass of gold and silver yet seen*, it is because it was acquired by Sesostris's conquests, and by the tributes of all Asia;* if after Rhampsinit, the tyrants *Cheops* and *Chephren* built their extravagant pyramids, it is because ignorant despotism knows not how to employ its accumulated treasures, &c. &c.

But we have said enough on this subject: we have to reply to two questions, that must already have occurred to the reader.

At what precise time did the invasion of the *pastors* happen, and who were these strangers?

Here the want of positive documents reduces us to calculations of probabilities which we shall endeavour to render reasonable.

None of the lists agree concerning the date of the *pastors:* the ancient Chronicle gives the year 1851; the Eusebius of Syncellus, 1830; the Eusebius of the Chronicon, 1807; Josephus, when disengaged from his errors, very nearly coincides with the latter; for by placing the reign of *Sethos-is*, who is *Sesostris*, about 1360 or 1365, we find in the kings who ascend to *Tmos-is*, son of *Mefragmutos*, that is to say, to the true expeller, a sum of 191

* It is also very possible that the commerce of Ophir, which flourished about this epoch, contributed to it.

years, which carries us to the year 1556. From thence to the arrival of the pastors under *Salatis*, Josephus reckons 239, which places it in 1795, difference twelve years from 1807, and there belongs to us four or five years upon the reign of *Tmos*. On the other hand, if we take the 128 years given us by his list, from Tmosis to the head of the dynasty (Amosis, whom he calls *Tethmosis*), and add to them the 103 years allowed by Eusebius and the ancient Chronicle to the pastors, we have 231 years; plus, four or three years of the reign of *Tmosis*. We approach very near the 239 of Josephus. The analogy of these two products, and their resemblance with the 1807 of Eusebius, make us look on, as the most probable date, that of 1800, or 1810, for the arrival of the pastors.—Now what race of men were they of? Here are our conjectures.

Manetho told us, that, according to some authors, they were Arabs; his copier Africanus calls them *Phenicians*, which is little different, because the *Phenicians* are known to have been originally Arabs. Now let us examine all the circumstances in Manetho. He tells us that this horde, on quitting Egypt, reckoned 240,000 armed men: it is probable, that during a residence of two centuries, this population, nourished in abundance, was much multiplied, and that when it arrived it had no more than 100,000 combatants; it was enough to conquer. This supposes 400,000 head at the least;

it is a very great number for Arabs. This multitude *enters by the isthmus of Suez:* Arabs alone can enter by that way. *It has no supreme king:* it is, therefore, divided into tribes *like the Arabs*, having each its chief or chiefs, equal amongst each other, excepting the preponderance of the strongest. This multitude does not march strait for Memphis; Africanus shews that it stopped in Lower Egypt (a pasture-country for its flocks), and *built there a city*, that is to say, an entrenched camp: these men want to place in safety their families and property.* It is only afterwards that they attack the *gentle, timid* Egyptians, and seize on Memphis: all these circumstances do not announce a premeditated invasion, or a people armed for conquest; they indicate, on the contrary, *a people driven* from their country, seeking *refuge elsewhere*: what people can this be at that epoch? While meditating on this subject, we recollected that in the *Arabian monuments* of ancient Jemen, mention is made of a great revolution that happened in all the peninsula at a very remote period.

* Some learned moderns think they here discover the foundation of *Tanis*, and invoke in their favour a passage of the seventy-second Psalm, which points out that city as the central habitation of the Hebrews; but this seventy-second Psalm is not a sufficient authority, because it is the production of the Levite *Saphan*, after the captivity of Babylon: this rather indicates, as already existing, that confusion of the *Hebrews* with the *Pastors*, which again occurs in the version of the Jewish doctors as well as in Josephus.

We have seen, that *Masèoudi*, *Hamza*, *Aboulfeda*, and *Noueïri*, told us that " the most ancient inhabitants of Arabia were four tribes, called *Aâd*, *Tamoud*, *Tasm*, and *Djodaï*; that *Aâd* inhabited the *Hadramout;* Tamoud the Hedjâz and the eastern shore of the Red Sea (Tehama), &c.; that these Arabs were attacked by another confederation of different origin, composed of ten tribes; that there took place between them violent wars, which ended in the defeat and expulsion of the four tribes," &c.

In our opinion it must have been remnants of these four tribes that migrated towards Egypt, and we find the remainder of them in the *Thamudeni*, the *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, their relations: as to the date of this event, the information derived from Mussulmen authors coincides with it. " The prince who conquered these Arabs, add they, was called *Abd-el-Chems;* he took the surname of *Suba* (the *victorious);* his son (or descendant) *Homeir*, was author of the name of *Hemiarites* or Homerites, given to the victorious tribes. The latter drove out the *Tamoud* Arabs from Jemen into the Hedjâz. His fifteenth descendant was *Haret-el-Raïes*," (whom we have shewn to be contemporary with Ninus, and associated in his conquests).

But Ninus having reigned in 1230, the fifteen generations, if estimated in the Egyptian manner,

would carry us beyond the year 1700 before Jesus Christ; and, besides, it is certain that in this antiquity, and even very generally in less remote times, the Arabs omit or suppress the degrees of filiation; that by the name of *son* they very often understand a simple descendant, so that it is not at all proved that Homeir was immediately the son of Saba: on the other hand, the historian Nouèïri adds, that Homeir was contemporary with Ishmael, the son of Abraham: which signifies that Nouèïri found the above analogy on comparing the Arabian with the Jewish calculations. But in the calculations of the Jews, Abraham is set down between 1900 and 2000, and this agrees remarkably well with our data. It is not, therefore, without some probability that we look upon the *pastors* of Manetho as ancient Arabs expelled by *Saba* and *Homeir*, and that we set down the epoch of this event nearly in the years 1800 or 1810.

We find other probabilities in the *bold* ferocious character of these runaways, irritated by their misfortunes; in the military ideas they shew, and which they had acquired in long and bloody wars; finally, even in the religious persecution they carry on, since having been educated in the simple worship of the *sun* and stars, they must have looked with horror on the whimsical idols of the Egyptians, the allegorical sense of which they could not understand. These pastors being of the branch of *black Arabs*, they were, in the oriental style, chil-

dren of *Kush:* in the Greek style, Ethiopians; in this respect they were allied to the *Phenicians*, whose name is given them by Africanus. May not this name of *Kush* be the basis of that of *Y-ks-os*, given them by the Egyptians? this is not impossible; but what is almost certain, is, that under the name of *Ethiopians*, their kings are included in the eighteen of that race, whom Herodotus makes to reign over Egypt. It would be astonishing that the priests should omit this dynasty, which possessed Lower Egypt for more than 200 years; it must have even left some traces of its language; unfortunately, we possess scarcely any thing of the old Egyptian.* Perhaps the use of Arabian in that country was one of the means which opened its commerce to the Phenicians, and procured them an acquaintance with the theological and scientific ideas of Egypt, which they propagated in Greece more than 1600 years before our era; in fine, the expelled pastors in the desert, without leaving any visible trace; and it seems that Arabs alone could thus appear, live, and disappear.

A last means of information on the subject might be found in the picturesque monuments brought from Egypt by the French *sçavans:* in them we see scenes of combats representing, on the one side, Egyptians distinguished by their physiognomy and dress; on the other, strangers whose heads are

* *Shâr* signifies in Copte, as well as in Arabian, a *canal*, a *river*.

adorned with *crowns* of feathers in the form of diadems. It would be important to find out if these physiognomies, very well expressed, have any resemblance with those of the ancient Phœnician or Arabian medals or other monuments. The conqueror having been king of Thebes, it is natural to suppose that the picture of his triumph was carved on the walls of his palace in that city. The learned describers of these pictures endeavour to prove them Indians; this would not refute our conjecture, since the inhabitants of Arabia, and particularly of Jemen, were, like those of Ethiopia, on many occasions, spoken of by the Greeks and Latins, under the name of *Indi;* this is all we can say on the subject. We have still a word to add concerning the Jews, according to the ideas of Manetho and some other ancient historians.

§ *Epoch of the* Arrival *and* Departure *of the Jews, according to Manetho.*

We have proved, in the first volume of this work, chap. ii. iii. and iv. the Jewish books give us no clear and precise idea of the time when the flight out of Egypt happened, and this because the anarchical period of the Jews presents an absolute void of archives and regular annals. It seems, that the historian Josephus, possessing those of the Phenicians and Egyptians, published by Menander the Ephesian, by Manetho, Lysima-

chus, Cheremon, and other authors, should have cleared up this difficulty; but this Jewish priest, strongly imbued with his religious prejudices, was more intent on disputing than instructing, and he supplies us not so much with results as with materials. Let us see what profit we can derive from what he gives us, as Manetho's opinion on the subject in question.

According to Manetho,* "the ancestors of the Jewish people were a mixture of men of different *castes*, even of those of the Egyptian priests, who, for *impurity*, for canonical pollutions, and especially for the leprosy, were, by order of an oracle, expelled from Egypt by a king named *Amenoph*." The Jewish books are not in contradiction with this account, when they say (in Exodus,) that many of the common people and strangers followed *the house of Israel;*† the reiterated ordinances of Leviticus against the leprosy, prove that all these diseases prevailed. Another reproach of impurity from an Egyptian, is the *pastoral* life; and the Jews avow that they were *pastors*: Manetho values their number at 80,000, who, from the environs of Pelusium, went into Judea to *Hiérusalem;* we have demonstrated the physical impossibility of the 600,000 armed men of *Exodus*, which would suppose a total mass of two millions four hundred

* Joseph. Lib. I. against Appion, § 26.

† Exod., chap. xii.

thousand souls; and we have taken from the Jewish books themselves, indications which are not very different from Manetho: he was not so ignorant in all this as Josephus has been pleased to represent him. The latter reproaches him with having introduced a false *Amenoph* without any known date; but since this Amenoph is said to be the *father of Sethos*, who (in the war of thirteen years caused by the lepers) was five years of age, Manetho has sufficiently particularized the man and the period: he adds a new indication to it, when he mentions in his list a king *Ramessès*, father of Amenoph, for this *Ramessès*, who, in fact, precedes Amenoph in the eighteenth dynasty, corresponds very well with him by whose order the Jews built the city of Ramessès. In all this, Josephus is most reprehensible for not having given us the date of the reign of *Sethos-Sesostris*, taken on the chronological scale of the Jews. This reign is, as has been already said, the starting-point on which all depends: according to the ancient Chronicle, it commenced in the year 1400 with the nineteenth dynasty, beginning with Sethos: according to Africanus, it was in 1394: these two dates are similar, and justify our calculations in the article of the Jews,* when we stated, that the flight out of Egypt under Moses must have hap-

* *See* New Researches, &c., Vol. I. chap. iii.

pened before the year 1420: this agrees remarkably with Manetho's account, who represents Sethos as thirteen years of age, at the epoch of the war for the expulsion of the lepers.

On the other hand, according to the Eusebius of Syncellus, the reign of Sethos should commence only in the year 1376, and according to the Eusebius of Scaliger, it should be retarded until 1356. The first of these dates (reasoning always according to Manetho,) would place the flight about 1390, which agrees with our genealogical calculation of the high-priests mentioned by Josephus. The second reclaims in its favor the authority of Herodotus; but leaves against it the suspicion of having been drawn up by Eusebius in that express intention: the result appears to be, that the flight out of Egypt did not precede the years 1410 or 1420, and was not later than 1390 before Jesus Christ. Let us take for middle term 1400, and say, that if *Sethos-Sethostris*, at the commencement of his grand expedition, did not attack the Hebrews, it was through aversion and contempt of their recent origin.

Now how long did the stay of the Jews in Egypt really last? their books are not agreed. The Samaritan text says 215 years; the Hebrew and Greek say 430.

If we apply those 215 to the calculation of Herodotus and Eusebius (1355,) the entry must have

happened about 1570.* If we apply them to the calculation of Africanus and the Chronicle, it took place about 1610. In both cases, it falls in the period of our pastors, expelled in 1556.

If, on the contrary, we employ the 430 years of the Hebrew text, the entry will ascend to the years 1790 or 1820, and if so, almost coincides with the entry of the *pastor kings*.

Why so great a difference between one text and the other? may it not be said, that one represents the opinion of the compiler of the *Pentateuch*, the high-priest Hilkiah? while the other is the opinion of the doctors of Alexandria, who, in the time of the translation, being acquainted with the Egyptian books, pretended, as did Josephus, that the pastor kings were the Hebrew pastors. The other hypothesis is, however, plausible in many respects. For instance, Genesis speaks of oral communications between Abraham and Jacob's family and

* Here a singular analogy presents itself: Eusebius, in his Chronicon, (by Scaliger,) says in a year (corresponding to 1575 before Jesus Christ,) that '*Ethiopians coming from the river Indus*, encamped and settled near *Egypt*." The Jews, by their own avowal, being of *Chaldean race*, (a branch of *Black Arabs*,) it follows that they are real *Ethiopians*. As to the *Indus* or *Black* river, this name was given to several rivers: besides, Megasthenes, speaking of the *Jews*, says they were an Indian tribe or sect called *Kalani*, and that their theology has a great resemblance with that of the Indians. Should we read *Kaldæi* instead of *Kalani*? Josephus does not make the remark. In result, this always indicates a tribe of Ethiopian Arabs.

the Egyptians, as a thing simple and natural; yet we know, that the language of that people differed essentially from the Hebrew; and in those barbarous ages a language was unknown beyond its own territory: if, therefore, we suppose these communications to have taken place with the pastor kings, there is not the smallest difficulty, because their language was an Arabian dialect like the Hebrew.

On the other hand, the Egyptians detested herdsmen, as people *impure* before the law: and the kings and priests of Egypt should not have given so good a reception to the Hebrews; the pastor kings might do so; their priest Putiphar could even admit Joseph into his family, and a woman of that race save Moses floating on the waters.

According to the Chaldean books cited by Berosus, and the Egyptian books cited by the Persian *Artapanus*,* Abraham taught Astrology or Astronomy to the *Egyptians;* how can it be believed that the Egyptians, the inventors of the Zodiac, and at all times famous for their astronomical science, should receive lessons from a vagabond stranger; but this may be credited of the *Arabian pastors* of Egypt, who arrived and might have remained ignorant of that science: Artapanus adds, that Joseph instituted the surveying of lands and

* Eusebius, Præp. Evan., Lib IX.

other useful customs, with which none but pastors who had destroyed every thing could be unacquainted. As to the *monopoly* of all the lands spoken of in Genesis, as recommended by Joseph in times of famine, that also agrees with the dispositions of the pastor kings, plunderers, and tyrants: this book of *Artapanus*, which in some respects differs from the accounts of Genesis and Manetho, has in other respects striking analogies. He makes Moses be educated by the daughter of the king of Memphis, while he says, that there was at the time, another king in *the country above* and *several kings in Egypt*. He makes Moses to be a minister and a general of the king, who loves him at first, and afterwards dreading his great credit, wishes to have him cut off in a war of *Ethiopia*. Moses sets out for that country; stops on the way *during ten years*, and with the sole assistance of his family or countrymen, he builds a city called *Hermopolis*. All this errs against probability; but when we consider that the *Ethiopia* of the Greeks is the country of *Kush* of the Orientals; that the country of *Madian*, where Moses retired to, was a dependency, a country of *Kush*, as we have proved,* and that near this country, on the frontiers of Egypt, stands the city of *Heroo-polis*, very near that of *Phitom* (Patumos of Herodotus) built by the Hebrews,

* Vol. I. page 262.

we shall be inclined to believe, that Artapanus or his copiers changed *Heroopolis* into *Hermopolis*: afterwards, Artapanus speaks of the miracles operated by Moses, and of the departure of his people, nearly as in Exodus, except that he distributes them in a longer or shorter duration of time, during which Moses took advantage of natural accidents and phenomena: at present, Artapanus is looked upon as a romancer; but Josephus and Alexander Polyhistor considered him a learned man, intimately acquainted with the Egyptian books: from all this mixture of various readings,* of analogies, of improbabilities, what are we to conclude, unless that there really existed facts which were the basis of the history, but which, from their antiquity, and writers having neglected to collect them near their source, have been altered by popular accounts from one generation to another, and presented under this form to subsequent historians. It is probable that the Jewish nation owes its origin to a first little tribe of Chaldean origin, since the Chaldean idiom continued to be its language:

* Hecateus, an ancient author, gives us yet another version, when he says, "many Egyptians attribute to God himself the origin of the Jewish people, because there was then in Egypt several races of strangers, each of whom observed particular and distinct rites of sacrifices; and, as it came to pass, that several Egyptians abandoned the national worship, the government found it necessary to expel those strangers: the first and most important went to Greece, under the conduct of Dareau and Cadmus; the others went into Judea."

it is also probable, that there is some truth in what Manetho says of its departure, since the Hebrew books, and Artapanus, and Tacitus himself,* mention circumstances nearly similar.

As to the positive dates, since the Jews themselves were unable to give them; since they shew themselves, on the contrary, totally ignorant of the whole period of their stay, and of the state of Egypt at their departure, we must content ourselves with those pointed out to us by reasoning; but let us not neglect remarking, before we end this article, that it will always be very extraordinary to see the author of Genesis, whoever he was, affecting to be so well informed of so many minutious details concerning Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, while he is so ignorant of all that concerns the residence in Egypt, the emigration under Moses, and the wandering life of the desert, until the moment of crossing the Jordan: this is contrary to any probable state of monuments; and this confirms us in the opinion already expressed, to wit, that the materials of Genesis are entirely foreign to the Jews, and are an artificial compound of Chaldean legends, in which the allegorical genius of the Arabs repre-

* Tacitus says, that it was on account of a *contagion*, (tabe ortâ) and by order of an oracle: he adds, that it was under king *Bocchoris*; but the only one of the name to be found in the lists before Sabbaco, cannot answer, and this proves that Tacitus consulted other authors than Manetho.

sented the history of the astronomical personages of the calendar under antropomorphical forms. But let us return to our chronological province, and see what succour Diodorus affords to the mutilated sketches of Manetho and Herodotus.

CHAPTER I.

DIODORUS'S ACCOUNT.

After all we have seen of the disorder and contradictions of the list of Africanus, the apparent copier of Manetho, we have a right to conclude that the dynasty of the *Pastors* was the historical boundary of the learned men of Memphis, and this for the two-fold reason, that these strangers destroyed the national archives, and that the school of Memphis finding, beyond their epoch, only Theban kings, neglected them through party-spirit for the metropolis. If we had the complete list of these kings, found by Eratosthenes, and copied by Apollodorus, perhaps we should find in it the means of again connecting the thread of succession by the interposition of the eighteenth dynasty: deprived of it, we must have recourse to Diodorus.

This author, who read and analysed a great number of books on these matters, in the library of Alexandria, had great means of instruction and of instructing us at the same time: unfortunately, he

has paid less attention to the precision than to the extent. This historian gives us, as the result of his researches, and as a fact uncontested in his time, that "the kingdom of Thebes was the first civilized, and the most celebrated of all Egypt. The city of Thebes (says he)* was founded, according to some, by the god Osiris himself, who gave it his mother's name; but neither the authors nor the priests are agreed on this subject, as several assure that this city was built much later, by a king named *Busiris*."

We omit what Diodorus says, with Herodotus, Manetho, and the *old Chronicle*, of the reign of the gods, which lasted thousands of years, 10,000 according to some, 18,000 and even 23,000 according to others, from Osiris, or the sun, to Alexander. These are astrological allegories, as well as the pretended invention of all the sciences, by a god or man called *Hermès*.—But Diodorus speaks historically, when he describes the primitive state of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, and their savage life, entirely similar to that of the negroes and Caraïbs of modern times.† "Then (says he) those were kings who invented things or implements, useful in procuring the necessaries of life; the sceptre was not transmitted to the son of the

* Lib. I. page 18. Edition of Wesseling.

† *See* page 52 and following.

sovereign, but to him that had rendered the most important services (as in ancient China.)

" Among the kings of Egypt, the greater part were natives, some were foreigners: they reckon, among others, *four Ethiopians*, who reigned thirty-six years, not successively, but by intervals."

We have seen Herodotus reckon eighteen of them; it should seem that Diodorus knew only those that came after Sabako.

" The kings before Kambyses were in number 470, and five queens."

Here is a material difference, since it would be upwards of an *hundred* more than Herodotus. Diodorus follows Manetho, or nearly coincides with him.

" After the gods, the first king was *Menas*, whom Diodorus makes to reign at Thebes, and not at *Memphis*" (which in fact did not exist). It is singular that this *Menas* or *Menes*, is found as first man king at Memphis, at Thebes, in Crete by the name of *Minos*, in India by that of *Mênou*. It is also singular that Manetho, in Africanus, should state that he was killed by a *river-horse* (hippopotamos) named *Isp*. Why should a wild beast have a proper name? This is allegorical: the *Hippopotamos* was the emblem of *Typhon*, the genius of evil, who killed *Osiris*, the genius of good; *Menès* must be another name for Osiris, perhaps even his most ancient one. Osiris was, as well as Bacchus, the god of abundance and of joy. *Menès*, like Osiris,

taught men all the conveniences, all the luxury of life, good cheer, fine furniture, beautiful stuffs," &c. the identity is evident. As to the *horses'* name, *Isp*, how does it happen to be the Persian word *Asp*, a *horse*? Did Manetho copy a Persian author, who, after Kambyses, translated an Egyptian book?

The name of *Menas* was abolished, as Diodorus tells us, by a king of Egypt, who, during a war he carried on against the Arabs of the desert, found so much inconvenience in the luxury and epicurism invented by *Menas*, that he cursed his name, and inscribed this malediction in sacred letters in the temple of Joupiter at Thebes. Is it not from this epoch that the name of Osiris prevailed. But why in Sanscrit does the word *man* signify a human being, and in Chaldæo-Hebrew, *intelligence*.

"After Menas, other kings (says Diodorus) succeeded each other during 1400 years, without doing any thing remarkable; next reigned *Busiris*, the first of the name; afterwards his eighth successor, named also *Busiris*, built the great city of Thebes with that magnificence which rendered it the most celebrated of ancient times."

To make Thebes be built when we are told that it existed since 1400 years, is a manifest contradiction; but now that the French *sçavans* have made us geometrically acquainted with the situation of Thebes; that they make us distinguish there four and even five different circuits, where the nature

and use of the materials, some of brick, others of stone; the style and art of the constructions, some small and simple, others grand and complicated, attest different epochs, we conceive that there, more than anywhere else, existed a gradation of industry and power which, according to the necessities or whims of the moment, removed several times the habitation of the kings and their court, and which, by the agglomeration that always takes place around these centres of activity, formed several cities which their reciprocal vicinity made to be comprised under the same name. From what Diodorus says of the greatness of the temples, palaces, and other works of *Busiris*, the circuit called *Karnâq* * may be attributed to him; but we must not lose the thread of our chronology.

After Busiris II. several of his successors embellished the city of Thebes. Here Diodorus inserts interesting details concerning a king *Osymandué*, without determining his epoch.

The eighth successor of *Osymandué* was called, after his father's name, *Uchoreus:* it was he who *built Memphis.*

Diodorus enters into details, which differ but

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* Diodorus proves that he consulted good authorities, when he says, that, according to several historians, the pretended 100 *gates* were only great *vestibules of temples* or of *palaces.* It is precisely the ambiguity of the Arabian word *Bâb, gate* and vestibule, figuratively denoting a *palace.* All his account of Thebes is highly interesting, when followed upon the plans of that city by the French sçavans.

little from those of Herodotus. "*Uchoreus* rendered the residence of this new city so convenient, so delicious, that *almost* all his successors preferred it to that of *Thebes*, whose splendour diminished every day, while that of Memphis was continually increasing, until the foundation of Alexandria.

"Twelve generations after *Uchoreus* reigned *Moïris*, who constructed the famous lake spoken of in Herodotus; seven generations after Moïris reigned *Seesoosis* (the Sesostris of Herodotus) who became so celebrated by his conquests."

Here we arrive at a point nearly ascertained, and we might make use of it to calculate and put in order the facts related by Diodorus; but because it is important to know how far we are to credit this compiler, often negligent and superficial, we prefer coming down to a later and surer epoch, that can furnish us with positive means of appreciating his degree of instruction and accuracy.

Diodorus, speaking of the conquest of Egypt by Kambyses, son of Kyrus, places this event in the third year of the sixty-third olympiad, answering to the year 526 before Jesus Christ. There is here an apparent error of one year, since all modern critics are agreed that Kambyses did not enter until 525; but because the olympic year commenced at the summer solstice, and that Kambyses might not have entered before the month of February following, that is to say, after the com-

mencement of the Roman and Chaldean years, which are our guides, the error is neither real nor important: admitting the year 625, let us see how Diodorus arranges the preceding events.

According to Diodorus,

There were 470 kings in Egypt, from *Menas* to *Kambyses*. Four of these kings were Ethiopians, and reigned, not uninterruptedly, but by intervals.

	Years.
1 *Ménès*, first man-king and not a god, reigned at Thebes (and not at Memphis.)	
2 After *Ménès*, obscure kings succeeded each other during 1400 years - - - - - - - -	1400
3 Busiris First succeeds.	
4 Busiris Second, his eighth successor, built Thebes, and erected there the great monuments still subsisting.	
5 After Busiris Second, reigns an indefinite series of kings.	
6 Next Osymanduah.	
7 The eighth successor, named *Uchoreus*, founds *Memphis* on the west of the Nile.	
Twelve generations after *Uchoreus*, reigns *Moïris*, who constructs the lake.	
Seven generations after *Moïris*, reigns *Sesoosis*, (Sesostris)* who conquers Asia - - - - - -	33
His son *Sesoosis II.*	
Indefinite number of obscure successors,	
After them comes *Amosis*, a tyrant.	
Amosis the tyrant, expelled by	
Actisanès, an Ethiopian.	
Mendès or Marrus builds the labyrinth.	
Interregnum of five generations.	
Proteus or *Ketès* is elected king.	
Remphis, the rich in gold.	

* *Sesos-tris* appears to be composed of *Sesoos*, which does not differ from *Sethos*, when pronounced in the Greek manner.

		Years.
	Seven generations.	
	Nileus executes very great works in the river, which takes his name.	
	Eight generations.	
	Chembès builds the great pyramid.	
	Cheplıren, his brother.	
	Mykerinus, son of Chembès.	
	Bocchoris the wise.	
	Several generations.	
	Sabako, an *Ethiopian*.	
	Interregnum - - - - - - - - -	2
	Twelve kings, one of whom was *Psametichus*.	
	They make a great work, and reign - - - - -	15
1	*Psammitik* (reign omitted)	
2		
3		
4th Generation.	Apriès - - - - - - - -	22
	Amasis - - - - - - - -	55
		Before J. C.
	Kambyses, a Persian, in the year - - - - -	526

"Before Kambyses," says he,* "reigned Amasis during fifty-five years."

There is here a total omission of the son of Amasis; *Psammenit*, who succeeded him, reigned six months and perished, with interesting details mentioned in Herodotus.

Afterwards, why does Diodorus estimate, at fifty-five years, the reign of Amasis, which, according to Herodotus, was only forty-four? remark that Diodorus appears to be only the copier of Herodotus after the reign of Proteus: Amasis must therefore have commenced in 581.

* Diodor. Edition of Wesseling, Lib. I. page 79.

Before Amasis, reigned Apriès during twenty-two years (he must have commenced in the year 603).

"*Four generations* before Apriès reigned Psammitichus."*

Why does Diodorus here again omit the duration of this important reign? and, besides, why this vague expression of *four generations?* should it not be supposed that there were four reigns between the two kings mentioned; and that, at the rate of thirty years to a generation, according to the system of Diodorus, we ought to reckon 120 years? in this case Psammitichus would be thrown back to the year 723; but will this year be the beginning or the end of his reign? Our embarrassment would be great, if Herodotus had not given us a description of the reigns of Apriès, son of Psammis, of Psammis, son of Nekos, of Nekos, son of Psammetik, with all the circumstances of their actions and duration: here we find *four* generations, but who could have conjectured that Diodorus included in them the two terms he assigns as limits? this negligence breaks already the chronological thread we expected from him; but supposing him to have reckoned, according to his method, 120 years for his *four generations*, the reign of Psammitichus would have commenced in the year 701.

* Diodor. page 78, N°. 68.

" Before him, there existed for fifteen years,* an oligarchy of twelve regents or kings, of whom he was one."

This oligarchy, therefore, commenced in the year 716, and succeeded to an anarchy of two years, which had itself succeeded to the reign of Ethiopian Sabako. This reign, therefore, ended in 718. We have, against this date, the testimonies of the Jews, and of the lists copied from Manetho: Diodorus should at least have given us the duration of Sabako's reign; but he omits it entirely, and only says that he came to reign in Egypt *several times* after Bocchoris (the wise). Here is the thread of our dates once more interrupted.

" But Bocchoris succeeded† to *Mykerin*, also called *Mecherin* (reign omitted), who had succeeded to his uncle *Chephren*, who reigned fifty-six years, and built one of the great pyramids; and Chephren had succeeded to his brother *Chembes*, who reigned fifty years, and built the greatest of all the known pyramids."

We have here the kings *Mykerin*, *Chephren*, and *Cheops*, of Herodotus, and in the details given by Diodorus, he shews himself merely the echo of that author; but he gives us no means of re-establishing the chronological series interrupted since Psammitichus: only he observes, that from the

* Diodor. Lib. I. page 76, N°. 66.

† Diodor. edit. of Wesseling, page 74, 73, 72.

erection of the great pyramid (of Chembes or Cheops), to the year when he wrote, several learned Egyptians reckoned a duration of a thousand years, corresponding to the year 1056 before Jesus Christ; and yet, he adds, others *pretend that there elapsed* 3400 *years.*

We suppose that this second opinion is to be understood of some much more ancient pyramid, whose construction had a truly astronomical motive, as well as the pyramid of Bel, erected at *Babylon* about the same epoch.

Prior to Chembès, Diodorus places the king Remphis, " whose only care was to hoard up immense treasures. They pretend that he collected nearly 400,000 talents, both in gold and silver (at 3000 franks to the talent, it is 1,200,000,000 of francs.)"

This Remphis is evidently the Rampsinit of Herodotus. " After Remphis, during seven *generations*, reigned slothful kings, solely intent on pleasure. We must, however, except *Nileus*, who, according to the sacerdotal annals, dug canals, raised dykes, and executed a number of other works so useful to navigation, that then the river got the name of *Nile*, instead of the name of *Egyptus*, it had before."

" The eighth king was Chembès."

It seems to us that here Chembèsis, the eighth from Remphis, and not from *Nileus*, as some translators pretend: this term eight is a continuation,

a complement of the seven *generations* already mentioned.

" But Remphis was successor and son of a king whom the Egyptians call *Ketès*, and the Greeks, *Proteus*, who was contemporary with the war of Troy, (the epoch of which is fixed by Diodorus, in the year 1188 before our era, that is, 1138 years before himself)." Diodorus here again copies Herodotus. It should seem from this, that we should find Sesostris but a few reigns before Proteus; far from it: Diodorus having recourse to some other historian, either Manetho, or Hecateus, introduces an immense series of kings, of whom he names only four or five, with details that awake our suspicions against him.

" The son of Sesoosis (it is thus he names Sesostris), when he succeeded to him, assumed the name of his father. He became blind, &c. He had for successors an immense series of kings, who did nothing remarkable. In fine, after *several centuries*, the power fell into the hands of *Amasis*, who made a tyrannical use of it: he put some to death, confiscated the property of others, treated every body with insolence. The people endured the oppression it could not prevent; but when a king of the Ethiopians, named *Actisanes*, came to attack *Amasis*, the Egyptians seized on the onportunity of shewing him their hatred, and submitted without resistance to the stranger. Actisanès enjoyed his victory with mildness and generosity. He would not even allow the criminals (in justice)

to be punished with death; and, nevertheless, as he could not leave them unpunished, he ordered those who were legally convicted to have their noses cut off, and to be sent to inhabit and colonise a desert place, which for that reason was called *Rhinocolure (cut nostrils)*.

" After the death of Actisanès, the Egyptians having recovered their liberty, appointed a king, called *Mendès* by some, and *Marras* by others. This prince did not distinguish himself in war, but he constructed a work as admirable for ingenuity as for its mass: this *work was* the labyrinth that became so famous, even among the Greeks.

" After the death of Mendès, five generations having been spent in anarchy, a man of the lower orders of the people was elected king. The Egyptians call him *Ketès*, and the Greeks *Proteus;* he was contemporary with the war of Troy," &c. (as has been already stated).

Remark, that Diodorus places the war of Troy near the year 1188. How does he reckon an immense series of kings between that war and the reign of Sesostris, when Herodotus, Porphyry, Strabo, and several other ancients, assign but a very short interval between these two epochs? On examining his account, we think we discover the source of his error in a want of judgment, and in the habitual negligence of that author, who, borrowing his accounts from different persons, made of them wrong combinations, and who, in the pre-

sent instance, did not perceive that he employed twice periods and kings that are in part the same.

In fact, if we compare the two parts of his list, which are, one between Bocchoris and Psammetik; the other, between Amasis and Mendès; we shall see that the personages and the facts are absolutely the same, though under different names. The annexed table makes this identity evident.

FIRST ACCOUNT.	SECOND ACCOUNT.	
	Diodorus.	*Herodotus.*
Amasis (or Amosis) a detested tyrant; his subjects surrender voluntarily to	Bochoris, *(according to the lists,)* was burned alive at the end of six years reign, (no doubt for his tyranny.)	*Anusis,* (pronounced Anousis by the Greeks, which comes very near *Amosis,)* after a short reign is dethroned by
Actisanès, king of the Ethiopians, who governs with humanity: he abolishes the pain of *death,* and only sends criminals to inhabit a desert place.	By *Sabako,* king of *Ethiopia,* distinguished moreover by his humanity and piety from former kings: he abolished the pain of *death,* even for criminals, and converted it into public work at canals, causeways, &c. useful to the country.	*Sabako,* king of *Ethiopia,* who reigned with humanity during fifty years; *he put no one to death;* but, according to the quality of the crime, he condemned the criminal to work at canals and causeways.
After *Actisanès,* the Egyptian people, *having recovered their liberty,* elected a king called *Mendès,* who constructed the *labyrinth.*	He withdrew, upon a notice he received in a dream.	He withdrew, on a notice he received in a dream. (Diodorus has copied the remainder.)
After *Mendès, anarchy,* or interregnum.	After *Sabako, anarchy* of two years. Twelve nobles unite and become kings: they construct together the *labyrinth.*	After *Sabako, Anusis* returned, then *Sethon,* priest of Phtha;
	Afterwards war breaks out among them; Psammitichus remains alone.	Afterwards the Egyptians, *having recovered their liberty,* and not being able to live without kings, chose *twelve,* &c.

It appears clearly in this table, that *Actisanès* and *Sabako* are one and the same person, mentioned by different authors, under two distinct names. Sabako may be his *Ethiopian* name, and the other, an Egyptian or compound Greek name: not only his characteristic actions are the same; the antecedent and subsequent facts are also identical. "He reigns with humanity and justice; he *abolishes* the pain of death; he withdraws voluntarily; the Egyptians *remain free;* they appoint a *king*, or a *spontaneous government*, under which the labyrinth is built," &c.— Before the invasion of the *Ethiopian* reigned a tyrant. Herodotus does not positively say so of *Anusis*, but he says nothing to the contrary; and between this name of *Anousis* and that of *Amosis* or *Amasis*, there is so much analogy, that we have a right to suppose the alteration of a letter by transcribers: it is true, that Diodorus represents *Bocchoris* as a sage* and a legislator, prior by *several times* to Sabako; while the lists burn *Bocchoris* alive, no doubt for his tyranny; but, besides that this name might be common to several princes, the discordancies of authors concerning this circumstance, prove only their want of care and instruction. It is an accusation which the compiler Diodorus cannot acquit himself of; it is clear, that he composed his account of morsels

* It must be he whose father *Gnephactus* cursed the memory of Menas.

extracted from different historians, one of whom was evidently Herodotus, and another Manetho, as we shall see, and perhaps *Hecateus*, or some Greek in the time of the Ptolomies; unfortunately for him and for us, not having taken the time, or not having the art of analysing and comparing, he committed here the same faults as in his chronology of the Medes and Assyrians, by doubling facts and persons that are essentially the same: we should, therefore, suppress from his list all that he says of the successors of the son of *Sesostris* or *Sesoosis*, down to *Proteus*, and then it is clear he is merely the copier of Herodotus in this period.

But where did he find that *immense series of kings*, between Sesostris and the *Amosis* or *Anousis* of *Sabako?* We find the solution of this enigma in the list which Africanus gives us, as copied from Manetho.

In fact, after supposing in it that *Sesostris* was the third prince of the twelfth dynasty, this author gives him for successors, first, fifty Diospolite or Theban kings, (thirteenth dynasty,) and afterwards an indefinite number of Xoith kings, (fourteenth dynasty,) besides the six Arabian pastor kings who invaded Egypt, (fifteenth dynasty,) moreover, the Greek pastors to the number of thirty-two, (sixteenth dynasty,) and also other pastor and Theban kings, to the number of forty-three, (seventeenth dynasty;) in fine, the sixteen known

kings of the eighteenth dynasty, which preceded the true Sesostris, Menetho, Sethos, &c.

Thus, here are more than 157 reigns mentioned, without reckoning the unknown ones of the fourteenth dynasty, and all those that come between *Sesostris-Sethos* and Sabako: we have no doubt but it was from this source Diodorus drew his information, and then it is demonstrated, first, that he also fell into the error of which we convicted Africanus, from Manetho's own text in Josephus, respecting the epoch of Sesostris, thrown farther back than the year 2600 before Jesus Christ; second, that Manetho is himself convicted of this error, since Diodorus, who wrote 280 years before Africanus, offers us the same system as that priest. We should, therefore, consider Manetho not as the first author, as the premeditated inventor of all this system of confusion, but as the awkward and ignorant compiler, who, having in his possession the archives of various cities, the chronicles of different authors, written perhaps in different idioms, was not able to recognize in them facts originally the same, presented under forms somewhat different. These are gross mistakes, no doubt; but when it is considered, that ancient manuscripts were often written enigmatically, on account of the mysterious and jealous dispositions of priests and rulers; that, limited to a very few copies, they were subjected to no control; that later transcribers altered them ha-

bitually and with impunity; that every attempt to collate or correct them was extremely difficult; that, in later times, compilers, such as Ktesias and Manetho, taking advantage of the almost exclusive notions they possessed each in his own way, made that a means of fortune and favor with princes, it may be imagined how and to what a degree such abuses were easy. Now that the one which occupies us is noted and detected, let us return to the point whence we set out, to the reign of *Sesostris*, considered as the means of calculating and setting in order the previous reigns mentioned by Diodorus.

This author told us, that king *Moïris*, who dug the famous lake of his name, lived seven generations before Sesostris; that is to say, in his method; that there were five reigns between these two princes: if he was exact in this account, *Moïris* should be the twelfth king of the eighteenth dynasty, called *Acherrès;* the difference of name can be no difficulty, because evidently most kings had several names, or epithetic surnames, proceeding from their actions or character; but because Diodorus adds, that twelve generations before Moïris, king *Uchoreus* had built from its foundations new Memphis, by turning the Nile, filling up its bed, &c., we have a right to oppose to him one of his own guides, Manetho, who, in the very detailed passage quoted by Josephus, and in all the lists of his copiers, always lays down the eighteenth

dynasty, as having immediately preceded the reign of Sethos, rightly indicated by Josephus and Manetho, as being Sesostris, head of the nineteenth dynasty. Now, if it be proved, as we imagine it is, that before the sixth king of the eighteenth dynasty, that is, before *Tethmos*, the kings of Thebes did not reign over ancient Memphis; that this capital and all Lower-Egypt were then under the dominion of the pastors, and before under that of the native kings: if it be proved that this *Tethmos*, who, the first of the kings of Thebes, reigned over old Memphis, and this twelve generations before Sesostris (in Diodorus's style;) it follows, that *New-Memphis* could only have been built by or of Tethmos's successors; that, consequently, *Uchoreus* and *Moïris* ought to be found in the ten princes that separate Tethmos from Sesostris, and that the seventeen generations between the latter and *Uchoreus*, fall into the class of those of which Diodorus is so prodigal in all his account. We repeat, therefore, what we said already, "that *Uchoreus* must be *Achoris*, tenth king of the eighteenth dynasty, and that *Moïris* is *Acherrès*, and perhaps still better *Ramessès*, Sesostris's grandfather,* who, by the length of his reign, allows the time necessary for

* There is reason to believe, that it was this Ramessès who forced the Hebrews to build the towns of Ramessès and Phitom, another analogy.

great works, whilst, by his proximity to Sesostris, he fulfills Herodotus's indication of the contiguity of the latter prince and Moïris.

Now if, adopting this hypothesis, we say with Diodorus, " that eight generations before *Uchoreus-Achoris*, there reigned at Thebes a prince called by the Thebans *Osymandua*, this king will prove to be either *Chebron* or *Amenoph I.* (second and third kings of the eighteenth dynasty,) who reigned at Thebes whilst the pastors reigned in ancient Memphis.

This Osymandua must have been a rich, powerful prince, fond of the arts, since he constructed at Thebes a zodiac, 360 cubits in circumference, by one cubit in breadth or height, all of massy gold, and that he possessed a large library, on which he had inscribed, *Medicine* or *Parmacy* of the *Soul.* He also built a palace, whose ruins have lately been splendidly revived by the French sçavans of the expedition to Egypt. On the walls of this palace, " the Theban priests, in the time of Ptolomy Lagus,* shewed to Greek travellers some exquisitely beautiful sculptures, which, among other scenes, represented a memorable war made (or sustained) by Osymandua against revolted strangers. On a first wall, that king was seen attacking a fortress bathed by a river, and fighting at the head of his troops, escorted by a

* Diod. Sicul. Lib. I. page 57.

terrible lion, who defends him: some say it was really a tame lion that the prince possessed; others insist it was only an emblem, by which *Osymandua*, as *proud* as he was brave, represented his own character. On a second wall, prisoners are brought before him, having neither *hands* nor *genital parts*, to denote, it is pretended, that in danger these men had only *women's hearts*, and weak and impotent hands. The priests said, moreover, that Osymandua's army, in this expedition, was composed of 400,000 foot and 20,000 horse; that he divided it into *four* corps, commanded by his sons; in fine, they added, that these *revolted strangers* were the *Bactrians*."

If these last words do not solve the enigma, they will render it still more complicated. In fact, according to Herodotus's testimony, and that of the priests in his time, it was an historical maxim in Egypt, that *no king of the country had distinguished himself by foreign wars before Sesostris*; and, nevertheless, here Diodorus introduces a king, who, in his genealogical system, preceded Sesostris by twenty-seven generations; and this king makes, against so remote a country as Bactriana, *two expetions, two wars!* For if the Bactrians *revolted*, it must be admitted that they were previously *attacked*, and *subdued*: how could so extraordinary a fact be totally forgotten? and at what epoch, in what time before Sesostris could it have happened? Did it precede the invasion of the pastors? this is

contrary to all probability. Or was it subsequent to that invasion? Then it falls in a well-known period that does admit of it. From these preliminaries, meditating on the text, here is what appeared to us, if not the truth, at least what is probable.

First, we remark these words: *a king called Osymandua by the inhabitants of Thebes.* The Thebans or *Upper-Egyptians*, in many things, and particularly in dialect, differed from the Memphites or *Lower-Egyptians.** They might have given a different name to a king belonging to them in common, and who was originally the same person: let us try if the circumstances mentioned will enable us to recognize him.

"*Osymandua* makes war on the Bactrians."

Sesostris made war on the Medes and Persians, who were their neighbours.

"*Osymandua's* army consisted of 400,000 foot and 20,000 horse.

Sesostris's army amounted to 600,000.

"The prisoners are brought before *Osymandua*, deprived of their hands and virile organ, to denote their weakness, their impotency."

On the monuments of Sesostris was seen the graven image of the virile organ, to denote the nations that had defended themselves valiantly; and that of the female sex, to denote those who submitted at once.

* After an union of so many ages they still differ from them.

"One of the characteristic features of *Osymandua* was *pride* and *vanity*."

Pliny said of Sesostris; *tantâ superbiâ elatus*: a king swoln with so much pride.

Osymandua ordered his statue to be made in the attitude of a man sitting down, and of a single block, so *large* that the foot was *seven* cubits long. It was the largest in all Egypt. The statues of his mother and daughter, also of one piece, but smaller, were leaning on his knees, one on the right, the other on his left."

Sesostris set up at Memphis, in the temple of Ptha, his own and his wife's statue, both thirty cubits high, and of a single block of stone; he added to them those of his sons, twenty cubits in height.

On the statue of Osymandua was this inscription:—

"I am Osymandua, *King of Kings*: if any one wishes to know my power, and where I repose, let him demolish some one of my works!"

On the military monuments of Sesostris was engraved:

"Sesostris, *King of Kings*, Lord of Lords, subdued this country by force of arms."

Why so great an analogy in the actions and character? does it not denote one and the same person? the difference of name is of no importance: we have seen most of these ancient kings have a number of them: we know that Sesostris himself had five, and among others that of *Ramessès* or

Ramsis, which differs from the first one as much as *Osymandua*. This name of *Ramessès* becomes even a positive proof that *Sesostris* reigned in Thebes, dwelt there temporarily, and erected there the great works destined to immortalize his name. Let us hear Tacitus,* when, speaking of *Germanicus's* journey into Upper-Egypt, he describes the astonishment of that prince on seeing the prodigious monuments of Thebes, and among others, immense obelisks covered with inscriptions expressing its ancient power. The oldest of the priests, questioned by Germanicus respecting the literal sense of the Egyptian words, interpreted that formerly the country had 700,000 men bearing arms; that with this army *Rhamsès* subdued Lybia, Ethiopia, the Medes, the Persians, the *Bactrians*, and Scythians; that he likewise conquered Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Lycia, as far as the sea.† The priest read afterwards what (annual) tributes were imposed on the conquered nations, both in gold and silver; the number of arms, horses, and offerings, made to the gods, in ivory and aromatics; in fine, the quantities of corn and commodities furnished, which equalled all that is raised by the Romans and Parthians in the zenith of their power."

* Tacitus, Annal., Lib. XI. year 772.

† It is very remarkable, that on this auto-graphical monument, not the slightest indication can be found of the powerful cities of Nineveh and Babylon.

Here every circumstance answers the conqueror Sesostris, such as he is painted to us by historians: thus we have the certitude that, in the distribution of his monuments, he did not forget Thebes, which, on account of its former supremacy, and the beauty of its neighbouring quarries, must have had particular claims on him. In this inscription, especial mention is made of the *Bactrians* cited in the history of Osymandua: the army of the latter amounts only to 400,000 men; but it is possible, that the *Bactrians* having revolted, Sesostris, irritated against them, might have marched 400,000 men, with a rapidity that required only a campaign of a few months. Besides, how can it be supposed that a man of the character of Sesostris should have suffered before his eyes *a statue, the most perfect, the largest* of all those of Egypt, if it was not his own? We are, therefore, inclined to think, that all this palace seen by the Greek travellers in the time of Ptolomy Lagus, and revived at this moment under our eyes by the French learned travellers, was the especial work of Sesostris, who gave it that singular form they remarked, and which is to be found in no other building. This prince, reigning at the same time over Memphis and Thebes, must have shared his favors between both metropolises, and we have every reason to attribute to his magnificence, the hundred royal stables distributed in equal relays between these two cities, and supplied each with two hundred horses, ever ready to

start, and forming altogether the number of the 20,000 horses of *Osymandua's* expedition: remark, that Memphis not being yet built, according to Diodorus, in the time of the latter, he could not have established these relays, for which there was no motive. Let us conclude that Osymandua must have been an epithetical name given to *Sesostris* by the Thebans, on account of some *quality* or *action* of that prince, that made the greatest impression on them. Under such circumstances, the Arabs would have called him *the father of the golden circle;* and since the word *mand, mund,* and *mandala,* signified in many ancient languages the *celestial* and *zodiacal circle,* perhaps in the Theban language *Osymandua* meant something similar to *king of the world.*

Now, if Diodorus has committed, with respect to this prince, one of those mistakes of which he offers us so many examples, what confidence can we have in him for the time which he says preceded, especially when he says nothing precise concerning the number and duration of the reigns ascending from Osymandua to Busiris II.? All that we can infer from his account is, that really the latter prince added considerably to the embellishments of the city of Thebes, and this at a remote epoch, which the ancients were unable to ascertain. At present, when the French sçavans, in their picturesque description of that city, supply us with new means of reasoning, we remark, in the totality

of the monuments, a circumstance that may throw new light upon the subject. This circumstance is, that the image of the *bull*, or *ox apis*, appears almost no where, whilst every where is found lavished that of the *ram*, emblem of the sun passing through the sign of that name, under the form and name of *Jupiter Ammon:* it is evidently in honour of this constellation that they erected the astonishing line of the colossal rams of Karnak, which is prolonged in two rows, for half a league. But, since the sun did not begin to quit the sign of Taurus until the twenty-sixth century before our era, to enter into that of *Aries;* and since his presence in the latter sign was not very perceptible until about 2450, or 2400, is it not natural to infer that it was only at that epoch, and after that date, that they built that portion of Thebes called *Karnak*, and which, by the efforts of Busiris and his successors, acquired a degree of magnificence, the fame of which filled the ancient world, and whose repaired ruins astonish our imagination? In this hypothesis we say that Thebes, thenceforth ancient, thenceforth powerful, assumed a new degree of activity, either in consequence of an acquisition of territory, or the introduction of a new branch of commerce that procured more riches and a greater population. Six centuries might elapse in an industrious peace, until the Arabian pastors invaded Lower Egypt (about the year 1800). The vicinity of these strangers must have first created a defensive system,

afterwards a plan of aggression and military habits, which, by delivering Egypt of its oppressors, effected in it the two-fold important change of uniting all its parts into one single monarchy, and constituting that monarchy under military auspices. The kings of Thebes, become the deliverers and possessors of Memphis in the sixteenth century, were often forced to approach nearer to the Delta, where was the greatest mass of population, and the most imperious necessity of an administration, on account of the workings of the river. One of them built a new city, which became the rival of the ancient metropolis; but the latter, always rich in territory, commerce, quarries, monuments, and the presence of its ancient opulent families, lost but little of its activity, and nothing of its magnificence. Sesostris found Thebes in this situation at the epoch from 1370 to 1360. Far from depriving it of any thing, he added to it; also, we see that five centuries after him, western Asia and Greece spoke of Thebes with that admiration of which we find proofs in Homer, and with this remarkable circumstance, that from its hundred gates he makes to sally forth precisely the same number of 20,000* horse mentioned in the army of Osymandua, and in the 100 royal stables from Memphis to Thebes. After this epoch, it appears that this metropolis

* The text says, 200 chariots by each of its 100 gates; and we see in the monuments that each chariot had but one horse.

experienced a first and a severe check, according to the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, when he tells us,* "that about the time when the Carthaginians began to extend abroad their power, an army conducted by their generals fell suddenly on Thebes, and plundered it."

According to Josephus, Carthage was founded by Dido, in the year 889 before Jesus Christ, according to *Solinus* (chap. xxx.) it was in the year 894; but most historians assure that Dido only conducted thither a new supply of settlers. However it be, we have a means of ascertaining the time indicated by Ammianus Marcellinus, and this means is furnished us by the Jewish historians contemporary with the event.

The learned Bochart has demonstrated, that in the Jewish books the name of *No-amon* is that of the city called *Thebes* by the Greeks: now, about the end of the reign of Jeroboam II. over the ten tribes, that is, a little before the year 780, we find a

* Amm. Marcel., Lib. XVII. page 90, de Bello Persico. Diodorus, Lib. IV. page 263. W. speaking of the exploits of Hercules, says, "that he built in Lybia a city called *Hecatompyle* (from the number of its 100 gates), which flourished for a long succession of ages, until the Carthaginians, having marched against it an army commanded by able generals, succeeded in making themselves masters of it." The authors of the description of Thebes, who deny the fact, pretend that Diodorus invents a fable, and that Ammianus repeats it: but it is evident that Ammianus derived from another source, and probably from the books of Juba, the circumstance of the time he assigns.

prophet, who, threatening Nineveh with a great catastrophe, cites the recent example of a city that equalled it in splendour and power.

(Proud city), says Nahum,* "art thou better than *No-ammon*, seated between the rivers (or canals), surrounded with water on all sides, who for a rampart has the *waters of waters*, who for its defenders has the Ethiopian *(Kush)*, and the Egyptians, and the *unbounded Phut*,† and the Lybians; and yet it has been removed and carried captive. Its children were broken on the public places, and its rich men drawn by lot (by the conqueror), and tied with chains of iron."

Some learned critics pretend to discover, in the expression of the text, the *waters of the waters*, an express mention of the *sea;* and, for this reason, presume that *No-ammon* should be found in Lower Egypt; but in the Hebrew idiom, the sea has no other name than the *waters of waters*, that is, a great extent of water: now, this circumstance happened for Thebes during the two months inunda-

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* Joseph. Lib. IX. chap. ii. places Nahum about the time of Menahem (778), and the Book of Kings places Jonah under the reign of Jeroboam II., who died in 780. It appears that, about this period, there was a moment of imminent danger for Nineveh, perhaps from the Kimmerians, of whom Strabo, Lib. III. page 222, places a terrible irruption in the time of Homer; consequently, about the year 790 or 800: this shock seems to have awaked from their indolence the kings of Nineveh, who, after *Phul*, then forced to play a part, shewed themselves very active.

† Translators puzzle themselves about the text of this word, which, except this sense, can have none.

tion, which gave the country the appearance of a sea. A single expression would have proved the real vicinity of the true sea, it would be to call it the *salt water*. We can, therefore, assert that the prophet meant *Thebes*, the residence of the god *Amon* (na amoun), and allûded to its being plundered by the Carthaginians. But as Nineveh shews no traces of *commotion* or *danger* after Phul, who appears to have commenced his reign about 770; as the epoch of this commotion or danger appears to have preceded and even prepared for the reign of that prince; and, as the reign of Jeroboam II. is found to end in the year 780, we presume that the sacking of Thebes happened between the years 700 and 790, about thirty or forty years before the foundation of Rome, and at an epoch when really Carthage began to develope its power in Africa.

A second disaster must have befallen it in the time of Sabako, about the year 750, when that Ethiopian king came to conquer Egypt; it is extremely probable that Thebes was once more pillaged or ransomed: after these attacks made on its security and riches, that city must have declined from day to day; the mad fanaticism of Kambyses gave it the last blow, when that tyrant ordered it to be burnt and ransacked during several days, in 525. Finally, the creation of Alexandria, by drawing to the sea-coast all the trade and industry of the country, completely extinguished the life and splendour of that city.

Such, in a few words, is the history of the kingdom of Thebes, since the twenty-fifth century before our era: in this period of 2,000 years, vaguely described by Diodorus, this compiler merits two new reproaches; one, for having omitted the invasion and reign of the Arabian pastors, which had so great an influence on the destiny and direction of the affairs of all Egypt; the other, not to have mentioned the list of Theban kings, discovered by Eratosthenes.* If he had connected this list with some known epoch, the succession of kings it presents might have been of use to us, though much altered by Syncellus, who transmitted it: all we discover in it is, that these kings reigned solely over Upper Egypt, and not over Memphis and the Delta; but in what age is not indicated, none of them having any resemblance with those of the lists. It is very true, that between *Menès* and *Busiris I.*, Diodorus reckons 1400 years distributed amongst fifty-two successive reigns (twenty-seven years to a reign); afterwards, between Busiris I. and Busiris II. seven entire reigns, that is, near 200 years, allowing for the whole 1600 years; where shall we begin to reckon them? the date of Busiris II. is not known: only we see that his reign could not have preceded the twenty-fifth century before our era, since all his monuments

* *See* Marsham, or rather Desvignoles, Vol. II. page 736, and following.

are marked with the sign *Aries*: if we set out from this twenty-fifth century, the 1600 years carry us to the fortieth century; but then Menès will be 600 years later than the zodiac of *Esneh*: which dates from 4600: and Diodorus himself (page 80), says, that the laws of the Egyptian flourished, according to them, since 4700 years. It must, therefore, be allowed, that the antiquity of Thebes surpasses all we know of, and that the learned Egyptian had good reasons to speak of nine thousand years to Solon, and of thirteen thousand to *Pomponius Mela*. We moderns are become so clever, that we have found the secret of gagging nature and monuments.

Here an objection occurs against the antiquity of the kingdom of Thebes, admitted to be greater than that of the kingdom of Memphis. Why, it may be asked, is the worship of the *Bull* preserved almost exclusively in the latter city, whilst the more recent worship of the Ram is almost exclusively found in the ruins of Thebes? To this singularity there is an answer, which appears to us natural. The Egyptians of Memphis having been subdued in the nineteenth century before our era, by the Arabian pastors, the course of astronomical observations and of religious worship was interrupted; the doctrine and customs remained where they were: and when it is considered that the Greeks and Latins still spoke of Taurus as the predominant constellation in spring, when Aries

was already far advanced, it will appear probable that the Egyptians of Memphis had not yet, in the nineteenth century before our era, changed their habits in this respect: the Thebans, on the contrary, having undergone no interruption, either of the civil government, or of the astronomical observations, followed the course of the heavens, the progress of the Zodiac, and when they saw the sun advanced *one* degree in the sign of Aries, they abandoned Taurus, who was abandoned by the domineering and ruling star.

Before we conclude these researches, we offer here some ideas, we believe true, concerning the original focus of a mythological system become celebrated in the ancient western world. Some authors, Diodorus among others, speaking of the singular ceremonies which the Egyptians, still in Cæsar's time, practised at the interment of their dead, inform us that the invention of these customs, as of most others of that people, ascended to the remotest antiquity. "As soon as a man dies, (say they) the inspectors of interments present themselves;* a voluntary bargain is made; the body is given up to them; they carry it away, empty it of its soft parts, salt, embalm and dry it, and, at the end of thirty days, return it in so perfect a mummy state, that it seems to be still alive.

* Diod. Sicul. page 101, W.

Must it be conveyed to the tomb? This cannot be done without acquainting the judges and the family of the day fixed for the ceremony: the body must cross the lake; a ferry-boat is constructed; a pilot, called *Karon* in the Egyptian language, directs it. Before laying the body in it, the law allows every citizen to make his complaint against the corpse. The judges, united to the number of forty, hear the accusation. If the dead is convicted of having been vicious, or unjust, they pronounce a sentence, depriving him of burial. If the accuser is wrong, he is condemned himself in a severe penalty. If the dead is acquitted, and is pronounced pure, his relations leave off mourning, make his eulogium, and he is conveyed to the tomb with all honours, in the midst of the congratulations addressed to him on the eternity of the happy state on which he enters," &c.

Our authors admit that it was these ceremonies, which, transported to Greece, introduced these ideas of Tartarus, Elysium, and all the fable of Karon and of Acheron; but their account conducts us to other more instructive notions.

First. We remark that the circumstance of *crossing a lake*, answers only very few positions in Egypt, and that it was primitively the river that they crossed.

Second. *Crossing* the *river* cannot be applied to New-*Memphis*, because all the tombs are found on the west of the Nile, where it was itself built,

and that there exists no burying-place to the *east* of it, in mount Mogatham, or in the adjacent plain.

Third. *Crossing the Nile* answers better to ancient Memphis, built on the east of the river; but the plain on the west offers too few tombs, considering the proportion required for that capital; and, besides, the custom must have been abolished by the 200 years tyranny of the *pastor-Arabs:* this position does not, therefore, offer the concurrence of the requisite circumstances. To discover it, we must ascend to Thebes. There, on the eastern bank of the Nile, we have an ancient and immense city; on the western side we find first a plain fit for tillage, formerly intersected by watering canals, which were the nine branches of *Styx;* next woods of palm-trees, whose shade, in this burning climate, procured the enjoyments of the Elysian-fields; lastly, the declivity of a calcarious mountain, which, to the height of four or five hundred feet, and for more than a league in length, is pierced with an innumerable quantity of holes, like the windows of houses or the port-holes of a ship; each of these holes forming the aperture of a long gut or gallery, branched in the interior of the mountain, and formerly filled with such a prodigious quantity of mummies, that even now, after the spoliations of many ages, the French travellers value the number at several millions. These were the tombs of the inhabitants of Thebes, who could

come there only by crossing the Nile in Karon's bark, and who, become the deliverers of Memphis and Lower-Egypt by the expulsion of the Pastor-Arabs, about the year 1530, introduced there these customs, perhaps unknown: perhaps, also, it was through this vicinity that the Greeks became acquainted with them, either by their own navigators, or by the Phenicians: at all events, it appears certain that about this epoch these notions began to dawn in the west. We should be grateful to the legislators of Greece for having employed them to purify the morals of their ferocious countrymen; but, for want of putting them into practical vigour, they missed a part of their object, and only reached timorous spirits. What an admirable institution this Egyptian custom was! What a high idea it gives us of their moralists!

The aspect of the mummies suggests to us a conjecture respecting the intention of their natural philosophers: when we examine attentively these dolls, we are struck by the resemblance between them and the chrysalis, which changes the creeping worm into a volatile being. We know that, at a very remote period, the Theban priests devoted themselves to the study of natural history; that they were acquainted with the organization, manners, and distinctive characters of plants and animals, as well as with the influence exerted by solar heat on the movements and life of terrestrial beings. From the moment that they laid down

the principle that *vital motion* (animus) came from an *igneous fluid*, incorruptible in itself and indistructible; that this *portion* of *igneous fluid*, when it abandoned the body, returned to the great reservoir from whence it came, and might come back again, they no longer had any difficulty in establishing the metempsychosis, the immortality of the *animus*, and the revivification of the body formerly *animated:* but, as on the other hand, in their astronomical or astrological system, at the end of certain revolutions or periods, there came on a *restitution* or re-establishment of all things in their former state, it became easy and natural to infer from it, that men so fond of life should participate in that favour: from that moment it was an object of the first importance to preserve, in the best possible state, the ancient habitation of the soul, the body it was once more to animate: in fine, because, in a certain class of beings, in that of butterflies, nature offers a really extraordinary example and process of change and metamorphosis, imitative man thought he found there a warning and model of what he had to do, and he endeavoured to make himself a chrysalis to become a butterfly.

It is also by a consequence of these ideas that the ancient Egyptians attached to the construction of their tombs that great importance spoken of in Diodorus. "They look on (said he) the houses they inhabit, as inns, or places of passage, and they take no interest in their preservation; but their

tombs, being their eternal dwellings, they take the greatest care in constructing them; they employ therein a part of their life and fortune, and from this idea proceeds the magnificence displayed by the kings of Thebes in this sort of monuments."

We must not therefore be surprised to see tyrants, like Cheops and Chephren, tormenting, during twenty years, an entire nation, to construct for their skeleton the enormous tomb of the pyramids; and when benign spirits object that this cannot be credited, because it is barbarous and absurd, we are obliged to answer them, that unfortunately in the course of political affairs it ought to be believed for that very reason: however, all the gigantic monuments of Thebes, whilst they prove a numerous and industrious population, prove also the existence of a despotical government, either royal or sacerdotal, having in its hands coercive means of exacting such tasks from an entire nation: and this is a new proof of antiquity for the nation itself, because it must have passed through the several stages of anarchy and civilization which precede that state, the forerunner of decay and ruin.

When we consider the habitual burden of these oppressive works, we are conducted to this other idea, that if there ever existed a country where it was necessary to allow the people a legal repose, that of each *seventh day*, it was *Egypt:* and since our conjecture is supported by the positive testimony of Herodotus, and the practice of Moses,

educated by the *Egyptian* priests, we admit the principle that the *hebdomadary cycle* is an invention of the Thebans, connected with all their astrological and civil system.

Let us recapitulate, and say, First, that it was only about the middle of the sixteenth century, before our era (1556) that the inhabitants of the great long valley of Egypt were united into one body of a monarchy, and under the same sceptre.

Second. That it was from this concentration of power and of means that were afterwards derived, in a progressive order of wants or congruities, the gigantic conceptions and operations which history shews us in Lower-Egypt.

First, the creation of New-*Memphis*, built upon the bed of the Nile, that had been filled up by the hands of man, and opened anew to the *east* to serve as a channel.

Afterwards the construction of lake Mœris, which consisted, not in digging an entire country, as Herodotus supposed, but in piercing an isthmus or neck of land, to throw all the surplus of the Nile into the concave basin of the *Faïoum*, as has been demonstrated by a distinguished *sçavant* of the French expedition in Egypt (*see* the Memoir of M. Jomart.)

Next, the establishment and amelioration of the immense military state of which Sesostris took advantage to execute his conquests.

Next, the prodigious mass of riches of every kin .,

collected together on the banks of the Nile, as spoils and tributes of Western Asia subdued. (Diodorus values at twelve hundred millions the treasure of Rhamsinit, second successor of Sesostris.)

Afterwards the material alteration effected in the contexture of the country, on account of the quantity of dykes erected and of canals dug by Sesostris.

Finally. The erection of the two mountain-pyramids of Cheops and Chephren, which were the supreme effort of an ignorant and barbarous despotism embarrassed with its riches.

Third. Before this monarchical concentration, we find Egypt divided into two distinct kingdoms, the traces of which were never entirely effaced. One, the kingdom of Thebes, comprising Upper-Egypt or *Saïd;* the other, the kingdom of the Delta, *Lower-Egypt*, having for its capital the ancient *Memphis*, situate on the east of the Nile.

Two centuries and a half before this union, that is about the year 1800 before our era, an irruption of wandering Barbarians, such as took place in China, subdued the kingdom of Memphis, which at that time seems to have been subdivided into other tributary or independent states: every thing proves that these barbarians were Arabian hordes, and particularly the remnants of the ancient Kushite tribes, *Aâd* and *Tamoud*, to which must be added the *Midianites* and the *Amalekites*, which mussulmen authors state to have been their

branches and relations, and which are afterwards found established on the frontiers of Egypt. The kingdom of *Thebes* having resisted this invasion, there ensued an habitual state of warfare, the effect of which was to unite all the natives under one standard, and to finally expel the strangers. The formation of the Jewish people appertains to this period.

Before this invasion of the Arabs, that is, before the year 1800, a profound obscurity reigns over the history of Memphis and Lower-Egypt, no doubt because the long and violent tyranny of the Arabs made the monuments to disappear, and also because the geographical constitution of the country, divided into islands, is favourable to disorder and anarchy. The kingdom of Thebes, on the contrary, homogeneous in its territory, and favoured by its unperishable granite, has transmitted to us, in its temples, its palaces, and its tombs, innumerable monuments of a civilization, whose origin ascends to an infinite antiquity. Unfortunately, its secrets are expressed in hieroglyphical figures, which can be rarely understood. Their signification, however, in some astronomical tables, appeared sufficiently clear to deduce from it incontrovertible results. Thus, in the zodiac of the temple of *Dendera* (formerly *Tentyr*) the arrangement of the signs and constellations is so combined, that it is allowed it presents to us the state of the heavens at the moment of the foundation of the temple or

of painting; and, because the annual motion of *précession* that the stars observe with respect to the sun, appears to be a secular dial, invented by providence to reveal its mysteries to studious man, some able astronomers are persuaded that the position of the sun in the sign of Aries, such as it is seen in the zodiac of *Dendera*, expressed the year 2056 before our era, in the same manner as another arrangement of the signs in the zodiac of the temple of *Esneh* (Latopolis) expresses the year 4600. No doubt, several of our readers will see with pleasure the proofs of these assertions detailed by one of the witnesses of the monuments, and one of the masters of the art; for that purpose, we here insert a Memoir of the late M. Nouet, astronomer in the expedition to Egypt, a copy of which was communicated to us by a friend. This Memoir supposes an acquaintance with that published by Dupuis, (in the *Philosophical Review*, Mai, 1806) which is not one of the least important productions of the sagacity and erudition of that man whose great crime is not to be understood by the *wits* who criticise him.

Researches on the Antiquities of the Temple of Dendérah, in Upper-Egypt, according to the construction of the Zodiac on the ceiling of its peristyle.

By M. NOUET.

The ceiling of the peristyle of the temple of Dendérah is supported by twenty-four pillars in six rows, dividing the ceiling into seven plat-bands parallel to the axis of the temple: the middle plat-band, much broader, has all along winged globes that occupy its whole breadth; the six other plat-bands, three on each side, contain two rows each of graven figures in relievo, painted; they are about three feet high.*

The constellations of the Zodiac are found in one half of each outer plat-band on the right and left of the peristyle; the spaces between each constellation are occupied by personages, several of whom, with the attributes of divinities, must have with the constellations particular relations.

The outer plat-band on the left, when you enter under the peristyle, comprises in its half-breadth, which is on the side of the middle of the peristyle, the ascending constellations in the following order, commencing at the wall of the temple: *Aquarius*,

* That is to say, one *metre*; but the *metre* is just the element of the Egyptian stade, which we have seen employed for the pyramid of Belus, 3190 years before Jesus Christ.

Pisces, *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*. The second portion of this plat-band is occupied by eighteen boats, conducted by emblematical figures representing the eighteen decans, and must have direct relations with the constellation. It is these boats which served as points of comparison to the drawers to place correctly each constellation in the corresponding place on the ceiling.

The last plat-band on the right, as you enter under the peristyle, comprises in its half-breadth, on the side of the middle of this peristyle, the six descending constellations in the following order, commencing on the side of the court at the wall of the temple: *Leo*, *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*, *Capricornus*. The other half-plat-band contains eighteen boats, representing eighteen decans.

I observed a particular arrangement in the manner of distributing the ascending and descending constellations: the Lion, first of the descending constellations, is farther advanced than he should be if he occupied the middle of the space of a sign; Capricorn, the last of the descending constellations, is found contiguous to the wall of the temple; the space which should be between that constellation and the temple is found transposed in the plat-band of the ascending constellations, where *Aquarius* is too distant from the wall of the temple. The space of the constellation of Cancer is smaller than that of a sign. The constellation of Cancer is transposed

to the extremity of the plat-band and in the middle of its breadth. A bust of Isis, placed above a portico, is found to occupy the place of Cancer; at the foot of this portico rises a lotus-flower, from the middle of which issues a serpent. A sun placed at the solstice, in the prolongation of the line of boats, sends a beam of divergent rays on the bust of Isis: an emblem of the heliacal rising of Syrius, guardian of Isis, and placed at the gate of day.

This astronomical language indicates clearly that the sun, when he arrives at the solstice, makes, by the force of his rays, Syrius to disappear at his heliacal rising; the lotus-flower expresses the overflowing of the Nile, which always happens at the solstice.

In an upper chamber of the temple, we find engraved on the ceiling a small planisphere traced upon the plan of the ecliptic: the twelve constellations form there a re-entering circular line, so that the last constellation is found, after its revolution, to pass partly above the first. This Zodiac commences with the Lion; each constellation seems to go in the same sense, and the constellation of Cancer encroaches above the Lion, by the effect of the curve, like a portion of a spiral.

This arrangement, according to the data of the Zodiac of the peristyle, indicates the movement of a period commencing at Leo, and which ought to terminate in Cancer.

We can conclude from this exposition, and from the perceptible and sufficiently distinguishable

transposition at the extremities of the ascending and descending constellations of the Zodiac of the peristyle, nearly the epoch of the construction of this Zodiac. I shall expose the results of the calculations which conduct to this epoch, after having given the following explanations.

The Egyptians had their civil year of 365 days, without any intercalation, so that the heliacal rising of Syrius, which corresponded with a given epoch of their calendar, could not return at the same epoch until after a period of 1461 of their civil years; these 1461 Egyptian years answered to 1460 Cynic or Sothiac years. It is the great *canicular* year, thus called, because it commences at the heliacal rising of Syrius, or of the great Dog, keeper of the gates of day and night.

Lelande tells us, in his astronomy, that the year 139 of the vulgar era, corresponded with the end of a Sothiac period, which, from this fact, must have begun 3122 years before 1800 of our era (1322 before Jesus Christ) and the preceding one, 4582 years before 1800 (2782 before Jesus Christ.) To find the differences between the solstice and the heliacal rising of Syrius for the commencement of each of these periods, I have made the following calculations for the latitude of the temple of Dendérah, 26° 9′.

We have, for the period commencing at the year 1322 before Jesus Christ, the following data:—

Right ascension of Syrius - - 57° 44′ 53″

Austral declination - - - - 18° 34′ 18″
Obliquity of the ecliptic - - - 23 52 24

We find for the sun's longitude, the day of the heliacal rising of Syrius, 90° 28′ 0″: that is to say, the heliacal rising of Syrius took place ten days after the solstice.

Ascending to the preceding period, which commenced in the year 2782 before Jesus Christ, we have, for the coincidence of the heliacal rising of Syrius with the solstice, the following data:—

Right ascension - - - - - - 48° 15′ 40
Austral declination - - - - 23 2 20
Obliquity of the ecliptic - - 24 1 50

The results of the calculations give for the sun's longitude 90° 0′ 0″, that is to say, the heliacal rising of Syrius happened at the solstice, in the year 2782 before Jesus Christ, at the epoch of the great canicular year of the Egyptians.

These results, which establish the correspondence between the solstice and the heliacal rising of Syrius, suppose a depression of the sun of 12° 9′ under the horizon, to make Syrius disappear at his rising; this supposition is the more admissible, as the circle of the horizon in Egypt is so filled with vapours, that in fine nights, so common in that country, peculiarly adapted for astronomy, the stars are never seen for some degrees above the horizon in the second and third magnitudes; the sun itself at its rising and setting appears totally disfigured.

The Egyptians, a religious people, and grateful

to the gods for the favours of their river, constructed on its banks, temples covered on the inside with paintings, with offerings to Osiris and Isis, to obtain the opening of the rich reservoirs of waters, which at stated periods come to fertilize their lands.

But it is the celebrated epoch of the Sothiac period, whose commencement coincided with the solstice, that the Egyptians consecrated in their Zodiac of the temple of Dendérah, as the date of the inundation of the Nile that happens in the solstice.

From the longitude of γ of Aries in 1800, and the retrograde movement of the solsticial points, we find that, in the year 1322 before Jesus Christ, when the last period began, the solstice happened in 13° 23′, of the constellation of Cancer, and in the year 2782 before Jesus Christ, the solstice happened in 3° 48′ of the constellation of Leo; the movement of the solstice was from one period to the other 20° 25′, the half of which, 10° 11′, being added to 13° 23′ of Cancer, where the first period ends, we have the middle of the preceding period, represented by the Zodiac of Dendérah; Cancer being transposed, and represented beyond the ascending constellations, indicates that this period is to elapse in that constellation. The bust of Isis, put in place of the Constellation of Cancer, at 12° from the sun, represents Syrius, when at his rising he disappears in that star's rays. This Zodiac was therefore constructed to represent the middle of that period (the state of the heaven at its con-

struction) when the solstice happened about 24° of Cancer, or, in other words, 3852 years before the year 1800 of our era (2052 before Jesus Christ.)

We can determine, in a manner similar to that which has been just employed, the epoch of the zodiac of the temple of Dendérah, by making use of an hieroglyphical symbol of this zodiac, whose signification is known to us.

Between the constellation of Libra and Scorpio, we find in this zodiac a figure sitting down with a dog's head; this figure most undoubtedly is that of the Cynocephalus of the Egyptians. But the *Cynophelus sitting, means the equinoxes*, according to the Egyptians, as we learn from Horapollo *(Hieroglyph.*, Book I, cap. xvi. page 31 and 32, of Paw's edition.] Therefore, in the zodiac of Dendérah, the autumnal equinox, (the one we are here to take, as is avowed by those who wrote on this zodiac,) is placed between Libra and Scorpio: the Cynocephalus being at a considerable distance from the constellation of Libra, and very near the constellation of Scorpio, we must, to be exact, take for the equinoxial point the longitude of a zodiacal star, which may be sufficiently distant from the principal stars of Libra, and sufficiently near the stars in the forehead of Scorpio: this star is that of x in Libra, of the fourth magnitude, which, in Mayer's catalogue for 1756, had in longitude, 7ˢ. 24°. 21′. 12″. (Connaissance des Tems, 1788.) The

excess of its longitude over 6ˢ. is 1ˢ. 24°. 21′. 12″. or 195,672″. From the annual precession of the equinoxes of 50″. 1. very generally admitted by astronomers, we find that this star was, in the autumnal equinox, 3905 years before the beginning of 1756 of our era, (2149 before Jesus Christ.) By fixing the equinoxial point at a very small distance from the longitude of that star, we find easily the 2052 years before Jésus Christ, or the 3852 years before 1800, that we had already determined.

We have now to refute an objection that may be made: that, by placing the autumnal equinoxial point in the vicinity of the star x of Libra, the greater part of the constellation of Leo is found in that of Cancer, before the summer solstitial point; whereas, in the zodiac of Dendérah, divided into two by the solstices, Leo is placed entirely at the commencement of the descending constellations.

This difficulty disappears, if we ascend to the most ancient zodiacs of the Greeks, who are well known to have borrowed their astronomical knowledge from the Egyptians. Ptolomy, at the commencement of his catalogue of stars, says he made some changes in the constellations that were in use before his time. We, therefore, must have recourse to more ancient zodiacs: we find one incontestably so, it is that of the Atlas of Farnese (thus called from its possessor,) of which Passéri has given us the figure and explanation in the third volume of his *Gemmæ Astriferæ*, and of which

Bentley inserted a figure in his Manilius. The zodiac of this Atlas belongs to times prior to Ptolomy, since the colure of the vernal equinoxes passes through the fore-horn of Aries. In this zodiac, Leo is not represented with his head advanced towards Cancer, as in the modern zodiac; on the contrary, it is much farther back than his fore-paws; so that a strait line, drawn from one of the claws of Cancer to the other, passes through the fore-paws of the Lion, whilst the lion's head is at some distance behind that line.

The consequence is, that the stars forming the lion's head in the zodiac of Ptolomy followed by the moderns, belong to Cancer, in this ancient zodiac of the Atlas of Farnese, and that the Lion's head of this ancient zodiac is all of it in that part of the Lion we call his *mane*.

In the position given by the zodiac of Dendérah to the autumnal equinox, the colure of the solstice passes through the stars least advanced in longitude of the Lion's mane. It is all that is here necessary to prove, that the solstice colure does not cut the Lion in the zodiac of Dendérah, and leaves the whole of Leo in the descending constellations.

Likewise, in the position assigned by the zodiac of Dendérah to the autumnal equinox, the constellation of Capricorn is found entirely in the descending constellations. A part of Aquarius, his first arm, may be said to be in the descending constellations; whilst the entire figure of Aquarius is

in the ascending constellations of the zodiac of Dendérah; but it may be answered here, that in the ancient Atlas of Farnese, the arm of Aquarius is not advanced above Capricorn, and that it is even drawn near the breast of Aquarius.

The Egyptians before this epoch were acquainted with the retrograde movement of the solstices, as will be seen by consulting the zodiac of the temple of Esneh, (latitude 25°. 18′.) This zodiac is placed at both extremities of the cieling of the peristyle, like that of Dendérah: the ascending constellations are on the left as you enter, and the descending constellations on the right. These constellations appear to occupy equal spaces in their respective plat-bands, and to correspond exactly. The ascending constellations are, beginning at the wall of the temple, *Pisces*, *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo;* the descending constellations are, setting out from the entrance of the peristyle at the wall of the temple, *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*, *Capricornus*, *Aquarius*.

By this arrangement, the solstice falls exactly between the constellations of Leo and Virgo. The retrograde movement of the solstices from that epoch, until 1800 of our era, corresponds to 6400 years, (4600 before Jesus Christ,) epoch of the construction of this temple, which is found entirely under the city, owing to the successive accumulation of the remains of houses that replaced each

other during a long series of ages; there is still
only an aperture before the peristyle, by which th
carry down the rubbish of the neighbourhood; an
in some centuries, the existence of a temple in pe
fect preservation, and buried under-ground, will
longer be recollected.

However, before us and our present reasoning
Edward Bernard had already discovered and pro
nounced from ancient monuments, that the Egyp
tian priests calculated, as we do, the movement of
precession at 50″ 9‴ $\frac{3}{4}$ in a year;* consequently,
that they knew it with as much precision as we do
at this day. It would be singular, if our being un
acquainted with their mysteries should be consi
dered as a proof of their ignorance.

NOTE.

According to these principles, which are those
of all astronomers, we see that the annual precess
sion being 50″, and a fraction of about a fourth or
a fifth, the consequence is, that an entire degree is
lost, or displaced in seventy-one years eight or nine
months, and an entire sign in 2152 or 53 years.

Now if, as is the fact in astronomy, the vernal
equinoxial point was in the first degree of Aries, in
the year 388 before Jesus Christ,† it results, that it

* Bailey, Ancient Astronomy, page 402.

† In consequence of this annual motion, the equinoxial point is
found at present to have left the second of the Fishes; and yet our
poets still celebrate *Aries*, as Virgil sung Taurus.

Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum

was in the first degree of Taurus, about 2152 years before; that is about the year 2540 before Jesus Christ; and thus ascending from sign to sign, the first degree of Aries was the autumnal equinoxial point, about 12,912 years before the year 388, or 13,300 years before our era: may not this be what *Pomponius Mela* meant, when he relates, that according to the Egyptians, the *origin of the world* (that is, of the *great celestial circle*) ascends to 13,000 years; our surplus of 300 years makes no difficulty, because *Pomponius* might have mentioned a learned calculation made about the time of Ptolomy or of Alexander. *

It is, moreover, worthy of remark, that the Egyptians never admitted or recognized in their Chronology, *the deluge* of the Chaldeans in the sense in which we understand it; and this, no doubt, because among the Chaldeans themselves, it was only an allegorical manner of the presence of *Aquarius* in the winter solstitial point, which presence really took place at the epoch when the vernal equinoxial point was in Taurus; this carries us

* *Diogenus Laertius*, in his preamble, tells us, upon the authority of the Egyptian priest, that from *Vulcan* or *Phtha*, son of Nilus, until the arrival of Alexander, 373 eclipses of the sun had been observed in Egypt, conjointly with 832 eclipses of the moon. Such positive numbers cannot be a mere fiction: our modern astronomers ought to calculate what duration of time that number requires; it might throw a corrective light on the 48,863 years assigned by Diogenes to this duration, and which in all cases are inadmissible, (perhaps there is a decuple error of 4863.)

back to the thirty-first or thirty-second century before our era, that is, precisely to the dates laid down by the Indians and the Jews who copied the Chaldeans. A fine career is open in this kind of researches, to the learned, who unite an impartial love of truth with a *scientific knowledge* of *Astronomy*. Without these two conditions, it is no longer possible to penetrate into antiquity. Our task is done.

Epochs and Principal Dates of the Chronology of Egypt, explained and confirmed by Foreign Parellel Dates.

First. Reigns of the *gods*, that is, of the stars and constellations personified in consequence of the use of Hieroglyphical Figures to express their attributes, their influences, and their relations with terrestrial beings.

Their pretended ages are only periods real or fictitious, simple or compound.

Second. First historical epoch, when Egypt was inhabited by distinct tribes after the manner of savages. Duration undetermined. The Delta might then have been in the state of a gulf, as described by Herodotus.

Third. Second epoch, when there began to arise small states or kingdoms, of which there might have been thirty, forty, or more. Astronomy made a proficiency by the establishment of colleges of

priests: the invention of the zodiac might have, in this epoch, conformably to the indication of *Pomponius Mela*, 13,300 years before Jesus Christ.

Fourth. Third epoch, when the small states were gradually absorbed in three great ones, to wit, Upper-Egypt or Thebaid, Lower-Egypt or Delta, and Middle Egypt or Heptanomis.

	Years before J. C.
To *this epoch* belong the temple of *Esneh*, whose zodiac dates from the year 4600 before our era, and the establishment of the worship of the *Bull* or *Ox Apis*, symbol of the *celestial Bull*, where the sun began to mark the vernal equinox -	4600
The Indian zodiac corresponds also with the dates of 4700 or - - - - -	4600
Observation of the star *Aldebaran*, by Hermès, ascribed to the date of - - -	3362
In Chaldea, foundation of the Pyramid of Belus - -	3191
Deluge, according to the Greek text - -	3125
Indian epoch of the present age - - -	3101
State of the heaven, indicated in the Persian Book, entitled *Joub*, about the year, *(see Bailly)* - - -	3000
Departure of a Sothiac Cycle, and of the Callypic Cycle of 76 years, at the date of - - - -	2782
Foundation of the Temple of Hercules at Tyre - -	27
Calendar of Hoang-ti, in China - - -	2686
Monuments of Mithra, and labours of Hercules, according to the Greeks, *(see* Dupuis) - - -	2550
Entrance of the sun in Aries - - - -	2428
Commencement of the worship of the Ram. Foundation of the Temple of Ammon in the *Oasis*; construction of the monuments of *Karnak*, and of the avenue of the *Rams*, about - - - - - - -	2400 or 2300
Deluge, according to Varro and Censorinus - -	2376
Deluge, according to the Hebrew text, calculation of Petau	2329
The Chinese cycle sets out from the year - - -	2277
The calendar of Hesiod corresponds with it	

Years.

Chaldean observations of Kallisthenes - 2234

Observation of the Pleiades in Egypt, mentioned by Ptolomy 2200

Observation of the colures, mentioned in the Sourya Siddhanta - 2068

Date of the Zodiac of Dendérah - 2056

Invasion of the kingdom of Memphis by the pastor Arabs, presumed to be the tribes of Tamoud Aâd, Madian, Amalek, &c. about - 1810

In consequence of this event, it is presumed, that at this epoch, many migrations and colonies of the Egyptians took place into Greece, Cotturia, and Asia

Foundation of Heliopolis, by the Pastor Arabs - 1800

Expulsion of the Arabs by Tothmos, about - 1556

Re-union of all Egypt into one single monarchy

Foundation of New-Memphis, about the year - 1500

Lake of Mœris, about the year - 1430

Construction of the Cities of Heroopolis or Phitom, and of Ramessès by the Jews, about - 1420

The Egyptians, under king Amenoph, drive out of Egypt the Jews, and a number of common people, whom Moses organises into a national body, and divides into twelve tribes, according to the twelve celestial signs - 1410

Reign and conquests of *Sesostris* between the years 1350 and 1390

Rhampsinet, *the Rich*, mentioned in Pliny by the name of *Rhamsès*, as author of the Great Obelisk of Heliopolis, and contemporary with Troy, must have reigned about - 1080

Because his successor Chéops erected the great pyramid, about 1050

Sesach, king of Egypt, ransoms Jerusalem in - 974

(It is possible this king was the *A-such-is* of Herodotus.)

Obscure kings, as mentioned in the lists, succeed each other more or less regularly, and weaken Egypt by their bad administration.

The Carthaginians, profiting of this state of things, march against the opulent city of Thebes, an army that takes it by surprise, plunders it, and carries away an immense booty, about the year - 790

Bouchoris, surnamed the *Wise*, ascends the throne, and endeavours to re-establish order, by laws that caused him to be reckoned among the legislators of the country, about - 781

	Years.
A blind man of the city of *Anysis*, called by Diodorus *Amasis* or *Amosis*, reigns tyrannically during six years, about -	755
Seva, the Kushite or *the Ethiopian*, called also *Sevechus*, *Sabakos*, and *Actisanès*, invaded Egypt, and reigns with justice and wisdom, about twenty-five years from - - - -	750
Sethon, a priest of Vulcan, governs Egypt, fallen into anarchy, at the time when Sennacherib entered Palestine, about -	722

(For the continuation, *see* the Table of Herodotus.)

Note on the System of Generations.

*In his Chronology, (Vol. VII.) chapter of the Heraclidæ, page 474, M. Larcher tells us:

"The rule of generations is not the same among the Lacedemonians as amongst other nations. This people, *as I observed*, in chapter xiv. of the taking of Troy, forbad marriage before the age of thirty-six, or even of thirty-seven. The generations were, therefore, of thirty-seven years at Lacedemon, whereas they were only of thirty-three years in the rest of Greece."

One should suppose, from this text, that really Larcher had *proved* this strange fact, that an entire people did not marry until the age of thirty-six or thirty-seven: we had read a first time the fourteenth chapter, without discovering this demonstration; we read it over a second time, with the most scrupulous attention, and here are the only observations we find in it (page 398 and following): "It was a maxim universally received in the first times of Greece, that a man should not marry until thirty-three, and afterwards, thirty years of age."

* This note, in the first edition of the second volume, was inserted after page 82.

(We deny this pretended maxim of L***'s, or rather this extravagant, incredible fact: let him first prove it, both by testimonies and by examples.)

Hence generations *were estimated* at thirty-three years and a little more, and afterwards at thirty years."

We say that they *were systematically estimated* by the Egyptians, and afterwards by the Greeks, to obtain *any how* a means of estimating times that were uncertain. But we deny that they were *civilly* estimated *by the people*, even at the period in question.

"The Lacedemonians were an exception to the general rule: Lycurgus, all whose institutions *tended to form vigorous soldiers,—wishing to prevent his fellow-citizens from taking wives when they thought fit, ordained that they should not marry before the body had acquired all its vigour, looking on this regulation as very useful in procuring robust children.*" (Xenophon, de Republicâ Lacedem. Cap. pr. § VI.)

Let us reflect on this passage of Xenophon:—If Lycurgus made such a law, it must have been because *the abuse was felt* of marrying too young: the *abuse existed*, he repressed it; and this abuse was the more likely to exist in ancient Greece, as it is found in all ancient and modern nations, in proportion as their domestic manners are more simple, and less restrained by regulations of police

and civilisation. Larcher felt this objection, for he resumes (page 400):

"It may be objected that this regulation not having been prior to Lycurgus, the generations that preceded that legislator are to be valued only at thirty-three years, as in the rest of Greece. This objection would have some weight, if *it could be proved*, that before the legislation of Lycurgus, the customs practised in Sparta were *absolutely contrary* to those adopted by that legislator. If such had been the case, *how can we imagine* that he should succeed in reforming the state. We *know the attachment of people* to their customs, he *would certainly have revolted* every class of citizens. There were, *no doubt*, at the time, in Lacedemon customs which were *observed* or *neglected* with impunity, because the *law had not pronounced:* Lycurgus chose, amongst these customs, those that appeared to him most reasonable. It is, *therefore*, *probable*, that Lycurgus *found already established* the custom of not marrying until the age of thirty-six."

Is not such logic really curious? Larcher first lays down the principle, that "*it was a rule with the ancient Greeks not to marry before the age of thirty-three, and even of thirty-seven.*" He says he has proved the fact, with respect to the Lacedemonians, in his fourteenth chapter. His proofs consist in a law of Lycurgus, *forbidding marriage before the body had acquired all its vigour:* he per-

ceives that this *prohibition* indicates, as existing, the abuse of marrying too young: to avoid the consequence, he has recourse to *suppositions*, to *probabilities; Lycurgus would not dare make the law, if the custom did not already exist: the people would certainly have revolted.* That is to say, according to Larcher, that all the laws of Lycurgus existed already before they were put in vigour by that prince, for the reasoning of our logician applies to all. It may be said of each: *the people would revolt; it is attached to its customs; there was no doubt a practice;* it it *probable* that Lycurgus, &c.: certainly, *no doubt*, *probably;* such is the gradation in Larcher. "It should be proved," says he, "that before Lycurgus, the customs of Sparta were contrary to his laws."—But it is you, sir, who should prove them to be the same; and you have first against you the cry of all antiquity, which attests that the legislation of Lycurgus was a *phenomenon of innovation* against received customs: a *speculative* and *philosophical system*, which so shocked the people of Sparta, that they broke out into a *sedition;* that in this insurrection *Lycurgus lost an eye;** and that to attain his object, this severe and obstinate man was obliged to make use of a stratagem, by flattering them with the hope that he should modify his laws after a voyage undertaken to consult the oracles, and making the

* *See* the Life of Lycurgus in Plutarch, Diogenes, Laertes, &c.

people promise, *upon oath, to execute them* provisionally until his return, *which did not happen*, since he preferred to die.

You have afterwards against you this axiom, "that a prohibitive law *proves, by its very nature*, the existence of the act that it alters or suppresses." *Lycurgus wished to prevent men from taking wives when they thought fit.* Therefore, they used to do so.—*He ordained that they should not marry* (an improper expression), he forbad marriage *before they had acquired their full vigour;*—therefore, they used to marry so; therefore, the prevailing practice was to marry people too young; and this practice must have existed, because it was occasioned by two powerful motives, one physical, the other political, which are found in all times and in all countries.

The first of these motives is the natural passion common to all parents of marrying their children early, in order to see themselves revived in their posterity.

In our own times we see this passion still subsisting, with its effects, in that same Greece we are speaking of, in old Asia Minor, in Syria, Egypt, Persia, and all the east. All modern travellers, who have visited Turkey, India, China, attest that in those countries early marriages are general; first, by the early developement of puberty in both sexes; afterwards, and more especially by the desire parents have of marrying their children, who,

without it, and of their own free will, could not contract the civil act called *marriage*. The abuse is carried so far, that it is not rare to see children of twelve years of age who cohabit before fifteen; and this abuse exists among the Greeks of Morea as well as among those of Asia Minor: in general, girls are married there before fifteen and eighteen, and men before twenty. Will it be said that it is an effect of the Christian religion, to prevent debauchery? Why does this effect prevail also in the Mussulman religion, in that of Brahma and of Foë? The ancient Pagans, adorers of the *libertine* Jupiter, were therefore more continent and chaste? Will it be said that it is the effect of climate? Why, in all North America, even in Canada, are marriages generally contracted before twenty for the women, and before twenty-four for the men; and this amongst a people of English, Scotch, and German blood? Why, even in Europe, do marriages generally take place at the same age in certain classes of the people, such as the inhabitants of the country and artizans of every description, whilst they are generally much later in other classes, and especially among the gentry living upon their rents? Why are they generally later in cities than in the country, in capitals than in the provinces? The true reason is easily discovered by these contrasts. They marry earlier wherever they can bring up children without much difficulty, wherever subsistence is easy and abundant. In

such countries, and in such a social order, they follow early the impulse of nature, and the most imperious of her desires. They marry later where subsistence is difficult—where children are a burden in their youth—where it is hard to procure them employment when grown up. And because in certain nations, and in certain political organizations, there is more or less facility to elude the burden of marriage without being deprived of its enjoyments; because in towns, and particularly in cities, this facility exists, more especially for the rich or easy classes; marriages are subjected there to calculations of suitableness of society and luxury, which subvert or modify the natural order. So that the most general regulator of marriages is, on the one hand, the simplicity, the rudeness even of wants and manners; hence marriages are easier and earlier in the poorer classes: on the other hand, *luxury*, that is to say, the extension of factitious and conventional wants, renders marriages more burdensome, difficult, tardy, and less prolific, in classes whose means of existence are precarious and scanty. Here I have the good fortune to agree with Montesquieu.

The second motive, which must have rendered marriages early and easy among the ancient Greeks, was the political necessity experienced in families of having many hands for agricultural labours, and especially for their defence and safety. These people, as is known, composing each a *society* of

fifty or sixty thousand, at most of a hundred thousand citizens, circumscribed to the number of fifteen or twenty *societies*, in a space bounded by seas and mountains, lived amongst each other in an habitual state of jealousy and war, and on that very account made a great consummation of men. The *commonwealth*, the society wanted defenders, was interested in their marrying; also, it appears that celibacy was decried in public opinion, that it was even punished by the laws when laws existed: but moreover, before these laws, in the state of liberty or of anarchy, which was that we are speaking of, as no internal police prevented crimes, the safety of every family depended on its own means, on its single strength. When weak, it might be annoyed, plundered, and even destroyed: when strong, or in other words numerous, it inspired respect. it armed all its members to repel an aggression, to punish an assassination. It was precisely the civil state of the Hebrews, of the ancient and modern Arabs, and in our own times that of the Druses, of the Mainiotes, and of the Corsicans under the Genoese. Each family had therefore, like the nation, the strongest interest and motives to be numerous; and to imagine, that in such a state of things, people in continual war and anarchy should accede to the *maxim* of not marrying until thirty-three, is a chimera, a real reverie of the cabinet.

The law of Lycurgus, cited by Xenophon, does not express the age when it was allowable to

marry: to determine it, here is Larcher's method of reasoning, (page 474, 475:) Aristotle knew, had in his possession the laws of Lycurgus: but *Aristotle* (in his systematical plan of a republic,) *says, that one should not marry as long as the body continues to grow, and that men should not take a female companion before their thirty-seventh year:* therefore, *Aristotle here alludes* to Lycurgus's law; therefore, Lycurgus had determined the age of thirty-seven; therefore, the Lacedemonians, *before Lycurgus's time, did not marry until thirty-seven; because, otherwise Lycurgus would have made them revolt.* And page 40: *It is very true, that Plato, who in a hundred places speaks with admiration of the laws of Lycurgus, prescribes the age of from thirty to thirty-five for marriage; so that it might be supposed, that he imitated the latter, and that the term fixed on at Sparta was between thirty and thirty-five. But,* &c.

Let us leave Larcher to his reasonings and conjectures concerning Plato and Aristotle: it is evident, by the diversity of the three terms, thirty, thirty-five, thirty-seven, that Lycurgus was more prudent than these dotards, and that he prescribed no particular age: to fix it at thirty-seven, or even at thirty years, would be to deprive the state of eight or ten years of fecundity ordered by nature, and to dissipate in debauchery energies useful to the nation. Aristotle and Plato, filled, as is well known, with systematical ideas of erroneous and

originally astronomical physics, said: "the common life of a healthy man is from seventy to seventy-five years. All that does not increase, decreases: one half of life is spent in growing, the other in decaying. Thirty-five and thirty-seven are the middle term between nought and seventy or seventy-five. Therefore, the body is perfect only at thirty-five or at thirty-seven." The error of these systems is demonstrated by facts, and by physiological science. In result, there does not exist the slightest proof that the ancient, modern, or middle Greeks, married at a general term of thirty or of thirty-five years; it is, on the contrary, proved by the nature of the question, and by the genealogies of an ascertained epoch, that they married earlier; and every thing shews, that the estimation of three generations to a century, was a purely ideal and systematical method, the use of which must necessarily lead into error.

END.

FIRST DYNASTY. *Thinites.* According to Julius Africanus. OBSERVATIONS.	NAMES OF THE KINGS.	Duration of the Reigns.	
1 Ab *Ispo* Hippopotamo raptus	Menès	62	
2 De Anatomia libros scripsit	Athoth filius ejus	57	
3 - - - - -	Cencenes	31	
4 Circa cochonem Pyramidas erexit	Venephes	23	
5 - - - - -	Usaphædus	20	
6 - - - - -	Miebidus	26	
7 Sub quo valida prot - -	Semempsis	18	
8 - - - - -	Bienaches	26	
	Total	263	
	According to the Author		253
SECOND DYNASTY. *Thinites.*			
1 - - - - -	Boethus	38	
2 - - - - -	Keachos	39	
3 - - - - -	Binothris	47	
4 - - - - -	Tlas	17	
5 - - - - -	Sethenes	41	
6 - - - - -	Chæres	17	
7 - - - - -	Nephercheres	25	
	Total	224	
Primi verò et secundi principatûs summa est 555 juxta Afric.	According to the Author		wanting.
THIRD DYNASTY. *Memphites.*			
1 - - - - -	Necherophes	28	
2 - - - - -	Tosorthus	29	
3 - - - - -	Tiris	7	
4 - - - - -	Mesochris	17	
5 - - - - -	Soiphis	16	
6 - - - - -	Tosertasis	19	
7 - - - - -	Achis	42	
8 - - - - -	Siphuris	30	
9 - - - - -	Cerpheres	26	
Duration of the three Dynasties, 769 years.	Total	214	
	According to the Author		214
FOURTH DYNASTY. *Memphites.*			
1 - - - - -	Soris	29	
2 Ille Pyramidem maximam erexit, quam a cheope positam Herodotus scribit - -	Suphis	63	
3 - - - - -	Suphis	66	
4 - - - - -	Mencheres	63	
5 - - - - -	Ratoeses	25	
6 - - - - -	Bicheres	22	
7 - - - - -	Sebercheres	7	
8 - - - - -	Tamphtis	9	
	Total	284	274

	NAMES OF THE KINGS.	Duration of the Reigns.	
Quatuor Dyn. ex. African. summa 1046.			
FIFTH DYNASTY. *Elephantines.*			
1 - - - - -	Usercheris -	28	
2 - - - - -	Sephres -	13	
3 - - - - -	Nephercheres -	20	
4 - - - - -	Sisiris -	7	
5 - - - - -	Cheres -	20	
6 - - - - -	Rathuris -	44	
7 - - - - -	Mercheres -	9	
8 - - - - -	Tarcheres -	44	
9 - - - - -	Obnus -	33	
	Total	218	
Summa 248 quæ cum prioribus 1046 Dynastiarum quatuor, 1294 summam componit. - - -	According to the Author - - -		248
SIXTH DYNASTY. *Memphites.* 6 *Kings.*			
1 - - - - -	Othoes - - -	—	
2 - - - - -	Phius - - -	53	
3 - - - - -	Methusuphio - -	7	
4 - - - - -	Phiops - - -	—	
5 - - - - -	Mentesuphis - -	1	
6 Nobilissima et formosissima, sui temporis mulierum, vultu rubicunda, quæ pyramidem tertiam erexit - - -	Nitocris - - -	12	
Summa, 203 anni, annis 1294 oppositi, dant 1497.			
SEVENTH DYNASTY. *According to Africanus.*			
Dynastia septima regum 70. *Memphitarum*, qui diebus 70 regnavêre			
EIGHTH DYNASTY.			
Regum 27. Memphitarum qui annis 146 regnavêre - -	- - - - -	146	
NINTH DYNASTY.			
Regum 17 *Heracleotarem*, annis 409 sceptra moderatorum; quorum	- - - - -	409	
TENTH DYNASTY.			
Dynastia decima regum 19 Heracleotarum totis 185 annis imperantium - - -	- - - - -	185	
ELEVENTH DYNASTY.			
Dynastia undecima 16 regum Diospolitarum, annis 43, quibus Ammenemes per annos 16 successit	Ammenemes - -	16	
Reges itaque sunt numero 192, anni 2350, dies 70.			

TWELFTH DYNASTY. *Diospolites.*	NAMES OF THE KINGS.	Duration of the Kings.
Manetho, Vol. II.		
1 - - - - - -	Sesonchoris - - -	46
	Ammanemis filius -	
2 - - - - - -	Ammanemes - - -	38
3 Hic novem annorum spatio totam Asiam subjugavit - -	Sesostris - - - -	48
4 Hic labyrinthum sibi elegit sepulturam - - -	Lachares - - - -	8
5 - - - - - -	Ammeres - - - -	8
6 - - - - - -	Amuenemes - - -	8
7 - - - - - -	Scemiophris ejus soror	4
		160
THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.		
Regum 60 Diospolitarum, annis 184 - - - - -	- - - - - - -	184
FOURTEENTH DYNASTY. (wanting.)		

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